THE

HISTORY OF INDIA.

BY

JOHN CLARK MARSHMAN.

PART I.

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

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TO THE NATIVE YOUTH OF BENGAL.

Many years have elapsed since I enjoyed the privilege of compiling the first series of elementary books for Native Schools, in association with the Serampore Missionaries, the pioneers of Indian civilization. It is gratifying to contemplate the progress which education has since made among you, and more especially to observe the career of honourable competition which has been opened to you under the auspices of the University of Calcutta. With the encouragement afforded by that body, I have again an opportunity of assisting your studies; and I now present you with an Epitome of the History of India, composed under a deep sense of the responsibility attached to any effort to provide a trustworthy relation of the progress of the power to whom Providence has entrusted the destinies of your country.

John Clark Marshman.

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THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY TO THE GHUZNI INVASION.

Boundaries and divisions of India.

INDIA is bounded on the north and the east by the Himalayu mountains, on the west by the Indus, and on the south by the sea. Its length from Cashmere to Cape Comorin is 1,900 miles; its breadth from Kurrachee to Sudiya, in Assam, 1,500 miles. The superficial contents are 1,287,000 miles, and the population, under British and native rule, is now estimated at 200,000,000. It is crossed from east to west by a chain of mountains called the Vindya, at the base of which flows the Nerbudda. The country to the north of this river is generally designated Hindostan, and that to the south of it the Deccan. Hindostan is composed of the basin of the Indus on one side, and of the Ganges on the other, with the great sandy desert on the west, and an elevated tract now called, from its position, Central India. The Deccan has on its northern boundary a chain of mountains running parallel with the Vindya, to the south of which stretches a table land of triangular form, terminating at Cape Comorin, with the western Ghauts, on the western coast, and the eastern Ghauts, of minor altitude, on the opposite coast. Between the Ghauts and the sea lies a narrow belt of land which runs round the whole peninsula.

Chronology of the Hindoos.

Of the ancient history or chronology of the Hindoos there are no credible memorials. The history was compiled by poets, who drew on their imagination for their facts, and the chronology was computed by astronomers, who have made the successive ages of the world to correspond with the conjunctions of the heavenly bodies. The age of the world is thus divided into four periods: the *sutyu yogu*, extending to 1,728,000, and the second, or *treta yogu*, to 1,296,000 years; the third, or the *dwapur yogu*, comprises 864,000 years; and the fourth, or *kulee yogu*, is predicted to last 432,000 years. A *kulpa*, or a day of Brumha, is composed of a thousand such periods, or 4,320,000,000 years. Extravagant as these calculations may appear, they are outdone by the Burmese, who affirm that the lives of the ancient inhabitants extended to a period equal to the sum of every drop of rain which falls on the surface of the globe in three years. The dates given for the first three ages must, therefore, be rejected as altogether imaginary, while the commencement of the fourth, or present age, which corresponds, to a certain degree, with the authentic eras of other nations, may be received as generally correct.

Early history of the Hindoos.

India is designated by native writers Bharutvursu, from king Bharut, who is said to have reigned over the whole country. That he did not enjoy universal monarchy in India is certain, though he was doubtless one of the earliest and most renowned of its rulers; but this fact loses all historical value when we are told in the shasters that he reigned ten thousand years, and, on his death, was transformed into a deer. Thus do we plod our way through darkness and mystery; at every step fact is confounded with fable, and all our researches end only in conjecture. The original settlers are identified with the various tribes of Bheels, Coles, Gonds, Meenas, and Chooars, still living in a state almost of nature, in the forests of the Soane, the Nerbudda, and the Muhanuddee, and in the hills of Surgooja and Chota Nagpore. Their languages have no

affinity with the Sanscrit, and their religion differs from Hindooism. In those fastnesses, amidst all the revolutions which have convulsed India, they have continued to maintain, unchanged, their original simplicity of habits, creed, and speech. They were apparently driven from the plains by fresh colonies of emigrants; and these were in their turn conquered by the Hindoos, who brought their religion and language with them from regions beyond the Indus, and, having reduced the inhabitants to a servile condition, branded them with the name of soodras. Of the four Hindoo castes, three are designated the twice born, which seems to indicate that they all belonged to the conquering race, although the term is now applied exclusively to brahmins. In the Institutes of Munoo reference is also made to cities governed by soodras, which the twice born were forbidden to enter, and the allusion evidently applies to soodra chiefs, who continued to maintain their independence after the Hindoo invasion.

The Hindoos who originally crossed the Indus took possession of a small tract of land, 100 miles north-west of Delhi, about 65 miles by 30, which was considered the residence of gods and holy sages, while the brahmins appear to have subsequently occupied the country north of the Jumna and the Ganges, stretching to the confines of north Behar. The India of the Vedus, of Munoo, and the earliest writers was exclusively confined to the region north of the Nerbudda, and comprised but a small portion even of that limited quarter. It was in the north that the four places of greatest sanctity were situated during the early ages, though the Deccan now contains many places of distinguished merit. The north was also the seat of the solar and lunar races, the scene of chivalrous adventures, and the abode of all those who are celebrated in the legends, the mythology, and the philosophy of the Hindoos. Even in the polished age in which the Ramayun and the Muhabharut were composed, the south was the land of fable, the dwelling of bears and monkeys, and it was not till a very late period that these apes and goblins and mon-

sters were transformed into orthodox Hindoos. It must, therefore, be distinctly borne in mind that the revolutions described in the sacred books of the Hindoos belong to Hindostan, and not to the Deccan.

The ten divisions and languages.

Some of the Poorans describe India as having been formerly divided into ten kingdoms; of these five were situated in Hindostan,—Suruswuttee, comprising the Punjab; Cunouj, embracing Delhi, Agra, and Oude; Tirhoot, from the Coosee to the Gunduk; Gour, or Bengal, with a portion of Behar; and Guzerat, which evidently included Candesh, and part of Malwa. Five are assigned to the Deccan,—Muharastru, or the Mahratta country on the western coast, and Orissa on the eastern coast; Telingana, lying between the Godavery and the Kistna; Dravira, or the Tamul country, stretching down to Cape Comorin; and Carnata on the western face of the peninsula. In correspondence with these divisions, which are comparatively modern, ten languages, of similar names, are enumerated as being current in them. Of these, the language of the five divisions of Hindostan, as well as the Mahratta and the Orissa are branches of the Sanscrit, modified by the mixture of local and foreign words, and new inflections. The Teloogoo—spoken in Telingana—as well as the Tamul and the Carnata belong, however, to a distinct family, and the only Sanscrit words found in them are those which have reference to religious observances. The brahmins, crossing the Indus, brought their own language from the west, where it was in constant use—as the ancient inscriptions in Persia testify—and diffused it through the north of India in connection with their religion. It thus became gradually mixed up with the dialects of the different provinces, which at length lost their original distinctions. The word Sanscrit signifies refined, and that language bears every indication of having received the improvements of the literati for many centuries, till it became the most exquisite medium of communication in the world.

The Vedus. The worship taught in the Vedus was the earliest form of the Hindoo religion, and was introduced into Hindostan by a body of priests, who crossed the Indus either in the train of a conqueror or on a mission of proselytism, possibly 1,400 years before our era. The Vedus are a compilation of hymns, prayers, and precepts, composed by different authors, at different periods, and were delivered down orally till the time of Vyasu, the bastard son of a fisherwoman, though, on his father's side, of royal lineage, who employed four brahmins to collect and arrange them. Their leading doctrine is the unity of God, and the various divinities, the personification of the elements, whom the devotee is required to invoke, are manifestations of the Supreme Being. The gods are mentioned, it is true, but without any pre-eminence, and never as objects of adoration; and there is no trace of the legends of Krishnu and Sivu to be found in them. In that early age, indeed, there appears to have been no images, and no visible types of worship. Though the customs and habits of the Hindoos are said to be immutable, yet, strange to say, in a country which still regards the Vedus with profound veneration as the great fountain of religion, the ritual they prescribe has become so obsolete that the man who ventured to regulate his devotions by it would be considered in the light of an infidel.

Munoo. Next in order comes the work called the "Institutes of Munoo," a code of rules and precepts, religious and secular, collected together about 900 years before our area, and attributed to Munoo. It inculcates the worship of the elements, of the heavenly bodies, and of inferior deities; but none of the objects of modern worship are alluded to. Brumha is mentioned more than once, but the names of Vishnoo and Sivu do not occur. Idols are noticed, and one passage enjoins that they shall be respected, but the adoration of them is discountenanced. The caste of brahmins is in this code placed on an equality with the gods, and endowed with extraordinary privileges; but they were at the same time

allowed to eat flesh, and even beef, when it had been offered in sacrifice—which was a daily practice—and to intermarry with soodras. The worship enjoined in Munoo appears to have been succeeded by that of Brumha, which was almost, if not altogether, spiritual. Then came the deification of heroes, with which the popular system of idolatry may be said to have commenced. Perhaps the creed of Boodh and of the Jains may have been next in succession; and there is every probability that it was not till the boodhists had been expelled from the soil of India that the Hindoo pantheon was completed to its full complement of three hundred and thirty-three millions of gods; and this was apparently effected under the authority of the Poorans, of which the oldest is only a thousand years old, and the latest about four hundred and fifty.

The solar and lunar race.

The Hindoo annals describe two races of kings as having reigned in India, that is, in Hindostan, from the earliest age, the race of the sun and the race of the moon. Ikswakoo, the progenitor of the former, founded the kingdom of Oude, and Boodh, the ancestor of the latter, made Priyag, the modern Allahabad, the seat of his government. We are, moreover, told that there was constant war between the brahmins, the champions of the solar race, and the military tribe of the kshetriyus, the adherents of the lunar race, until Purusramu, a great solar prince, arose and extinguished the warriors. They are said to have recovered their strength, and chased king Sagur up into the Himalayu. Sagur was evidently the sea-king of the Bay of Bengal, who engaged largely in maritime expeditions, and extended his power, and with it probably his religion, to the islands of the eastern archipelago, in one of which, Bali, he is still worshipped as the god of the ocean.

Ramu.

The Hindoo writers assign fifty-seven reigns to the period between Ikswakoo and Ramu, the great hero and ornament of the solar race, whose deeds have been immortalized in the great epic of Valmeeki. He was

married at an early age to Seeta, the daughter of the king of Mithila, another branch of the solar line, whose capital lay within a hundred miles of Oude. He passed many years with her in religious retirement in the forest till she was carried off by Ravunu. the king of Ceylon. Ramu assembled a large army, and having in his progress secured the assistance of the king of the monkeys, marched southward through the great forest of Dunduku, which terminated on the banks of the Cavery. That forest is described as the abode of holy sages and devotees, and of apes and bears. Crossing the Cavery, Ramu entered on Junustan, or the abode of men—the continental territory of Ravunu. The expedition was crowned with success, and Ramu recovered his wife; but having inadvertently caused the death of his brother, he cast himself into a river, and as the Hindoo writers affirm, was reunited to the deity. The expedition of Ramu was the most chivalrous exploit of that age, more especially when we consider the very limited resources of the kingdom of Oude, with two independent sovereigns—one at Mithila, and the other at Benares,—within a hundred and fifty miles of his capital. He is, perhaps, the earliest of deified heroes, as his age is generally fixed at 1,200 years before our area, though on calculations by no means satisfactory.

The Muhabharut. The next great event in the heroic age of India was the great war, celebrated in another Hindoo epic, the Muhabharut. The main object of this poem is to commemorate the exploits of Krishnu, another deified here, who took a prominent part in the contest between the Pandoos and the Kooroos, two branches of the lunar line, for the possession of Hustinapore, situated in the neighbourhood of Delhi. Yoodistheer, the chief of the Pandoos, was resolved, it is said, to celebrate the sacrifice of the horse, which implied the possession of supreme dominion. The Kooroos burned with indignation at this arrogant assumption; and their chief, unable to prevent it, had recourse to artifice. He engaged Yoodistheer in deep play, and led him on to stake his wife and

his kingdom, both of which were lost at one throw of the dice, and he was obliged to go into exile for twelve years. Krishnu, a scion of the royal family at Muttra, on the Ganges, had already signalized himself in a conflict with the king of Mugudu, in south Behar, and now, in conjunction with Buluram, accompanied Yoodistheer and his four brothers in their exile. The heroes wandered through the various provinces of India, performing notable feats of valour, and leaving some memorial of their romantic adventures in every direction. At the close of the period of exile Yoodistheer returned with his companions to the banks of the Jumna, and demanded the restoration of his kingdom. His opponent, Dooryudhun, refused his claim, and declared that he should not have as much land as could be covered by the point of a needle. There remained, therefore, no alternative but to decide the question by an appeal to arms.

The battle of Kooroo-kshetru. In this great battle fought on the plain, where, in after time, the last decisive battle between the Hindoos and the Mahomedans took place, all the tribes in northern India were ranged on one side or the other. Chiefs from Culinga, the sea-coast of Orissa, and even the Yuvuns—the name generally given to the residents beyond the Indus—are said to have taken a share in it. It lasted eighteen days, and the carnage on both sides was prodigious. Dooryudhun was at length slain, and victory declared for the Pandoos; but when Yoodistheer beheld the field covered with the bodies of friends and foes, all descended from a common ancestor, he became disgusted with the world and determined to withdraw from it. He entered Hustinapore and performed the funeral obsequies of his rival; after which he placed the grandson of his brother Urjoon on the throne, and retired to Dwarka, in Guzerat, in company with Krishnu, who had founded a kingdom there. That hero was soon after slain "at the fountain of the lotus," by one of the wild foresters of the tribe of the Bheels. Yoodistheer proceeded through Sinde towards the north, and is supposed to have perished in

the snowy range. According to the popular notion, he ascended to heaven, which was by no means incredible, as the paradise of more than one of the Hindoo deities is placed on the inaccessible peaks of the Himalayu.

Influence of these two events

These two events, the expedition of Ramu, and the battle of Kooroo-kshetru, are the most important in the annals of the lunar and the solar race. The genius of poetry has fixed the admiration of a hundred generations on them, and supplied a rich mine of images from age to age. The author of the Ramayun was Valmeeki, whom the gratitude of his fellow countrymen has crowned with the wreath of immortality, by ranking him among those who never die. He is supposed to have flourished in the second century before our era. The same period has also been assigned to the composer of the Muhabharut. Indeed, from the terms in which he describes the Yuvun Usoor, the demon or giant who engaged in combat with Krishnu, it has been conjectured that the poem must have been written after the invasion of Alexander the Great. The author was Vyasu, who has been confounded, through ignorance or flattery, with the great man who collected the Vedus, which is chronologically impossible. It is, moreover said, that a Vyasu appears in every age, though it is certain that no second Vyasu has since appeared among the poets of India. Krishnu was deified after his death. His adventures, and more particularly his flirtations with the milkmaids, have rendered him the most popular of gods among an amorous people; but the sects founded on the worship of Ramu, Krishnu, and other deities, are among the more modern innovations of Hindooism. Buluram, the brother of Krishnu, is said to have founded a kingdom, of which Palibothra, the capital, became the wonder of India, though even the site of it is now matter of conjecture.

The Takshuk invasion.

The annals of Hindostan for several centuries after the assumed period of the great war, are involved in impenetrable obscurity, but it would appear that

about six centuries before our era, a new swarm from the teeming hive of Scythia poured across the Indus upon the plains of India. Another swarm is supposed to have moved down at the same time on the north of Europe, and settled in Scandinavia, the cradle of the English nation. This simultaneous emigration to the east and to the west, may assist in explaining that similarity of manners and customs which has been discovered on many points between the Scandinavians and the natives of India. These invaders were denominated the Takshuk, or serpent race, because the serpent was said to be their national emblem. Under their chief, Suhesnag, they probably overran the northern provinces of Hindostan, and became gradually incorporated with the tribes which had preceded them. They flourished for ten generations, and appear to have professed the Boodhist creed. Of this dynasty was Nundu, or Muhanundu, who was seated on the throne when Alexander the Great appeared on the banks of the Sutlege, and was denominated by the Grecian historians, the king of the Prasii, or of the east.

The expedition of Darius.

The first expedition to India from the west of which we have anything like an authentic record, is that of Darius, the king of Persia, who ascended the throne of Cyrus, in the year 518 before our era, and extended his conquests from the sea of Greece to the confines of India. His admiral, Scylax, was then directed to construct a flotilla on the higher Indus, and proceed down that stream to the ocean. The report which he made of the wealth and magnificence of the country through which he passed, determined Darius to attempt the conquest of it. He crossed the Indus with a large army, and succeeded in annexing the countries bordering on that river to his great empire. The precise extent of his conquest cannot be determined, but there is every reason to conclude that his Indian province must have been of no inconsiderable magnitude, since it was esteemed more valuable than any other satrapy, and is said to have furnished one-third the revenues of the Persian empire. This

tribute, moreover, is said to have been paid in gold, while that from the other divisions west of the Indus was delivered in silver.

Religion of Boodh.

It was about the period of the Persian invasion, that Goutumu gave a fixed character to the institutions of Boodhism. It has been supposed that all the fifty-six tribes of the lunar race professed that creed, and Goutumu was reckoned the seventh Boodh. He was born at Kupilu, but the seat of the religion was planted at Gya, in the kingdom of Mugudu, or Behar, which the Chinese and Indo-Chinese nations consider the most sacred spot in the world. The Boodhists rejected the whole of the brahminical system of gods and goddesses, repudiated the doctrine of caste, and and adhered closely to the spiritual worship of the Vedus The priesthood amongst them was not hereditary, but formed a distinct community, recruited from the secular ranks, bound to observe a vow of celibacy, and to renounce the pleasures of sense. The hereditary priesthood of the brahmins, on the contrary, admitted no accessions from the lay classes, and considered marriage as indispensable as investiture with the thread, in the hope of giving birth to a son who should perform the funeral rites of his father, and secure him a seat in paradise. The death of Goutumu, is fixed by the general concurrence of authorities, in the year 550 before our era.

Spread of Boodhism.

The religion of Boodh made prodigious progress after the death of Goutumu, while the creed of the brahmins was confined to the small kingdom of Cunouj. Two centuries later, in the reign of Asoca, Boodhism was triumphant through Hindostan. His edicts are still to be seen inscribed on the celebrated column at Delhi, on a similar column in Guzerat, and on a third in Cuttack, as well as in numerous caves and rocks. Boodhism was introduced into Ceylon about the end of the third century before our era. Shortly after, it spread through Tibet and Tartary, and was carried into China about the year 65. In Hindostan the brahmins exhibited the most rancorous hostility to their powerful rivals; and we

learn from the report of a Chinese pilgrim to the shrine at Gya, in the fifth century, that the strength of Boodhism had materially declined. But it appears subsequently to have recovered some of its pristine vigour, and was not finally expelled from India till the tenth century; though we have the assurance that it was the prevailing creed at Benares a century later, and was predominant in Guzerat as late as the twelfth century. At the present time its votaries throughout Asia are more numerous than those of any other religion.

Alexander the Great.

The empire of Persia was broken up by Alexander the Great, the Grecian king of Macedon, and the greatest military genius of antiquity. After the defeat and death of Darius, the last Persian monarch of his dynasty, the troops of Alexander were engaged for three years in the most arduous military enterprises, and suffered incredible hardships in their winter campaigns, amidst mountains covered with snow. As a recompense for these toils their commander held out to them the spoils of India; and, having subjugated Cabul, arrived on the banks of the Indus, in the year 331 before our era, at the age of thirty. Hindostan was ill-prepared to resist the legions of this mighty conqueror. It was split up into a number of independent states, oftener at war than at peace with each other; and a Greek historian affirms that there were no fewer than a hundred and eighteen different kingdoms in the north. Alexander, after having sent envoys to demand the submission of the princes in the Punjab, crossed the Indus, like all previous invaders, at Attok, and entered India with 120,000 troops. Of the principal chiefs of the country, Abissares, whose territory lay in the mountainous region, probably of Cashmere, sent his brother with rich presents to conciliate the invader. Taxiles, who ruled the country between the Indus and the Hydaspes, or Jelum, entertained him with great hospitality at his capital, Taxila, where Alexander left his invalids. But Porus, whose dominions stretched eastward in the direction of Hustinapore, or Delhi, determined to offer the most determined resistance to the progress of Alexander, and

assembled his whole force on the banks of the Jelum. The river, swelled by the periodical rains, and at the time a mile broad, rolled impetuously between the two camps. Porus planted a long line of elephants on the margin of the stream, and presented an impenetrable line of defence to his opponent. But Alexander discovered an island in the river, about ten miles above the camp, and took advantage of a dark and tempestuous night to cross over to it with 11,000 men, who were landed on the opposite bank before dawn. The main body of the Grecian army was in the meantime drawn up as usual, facing the Indian camp, and Porus was thus led to believe that the troops who had crossed consisted only of a small brigade. But he was speedily undeceived by the rout of the force which he had sent to meet it, and the death of his son who was in command, and being now certain that it was Alexander himself who had crossed the river, prepared to encounter him with 4,000 horse and 30,000 foot, all of the kshetriyu tribe; warriors by birth and profession. Alexander's small army was composed of veterans, strangers to defeat, and, under such a leader, invincible. The field was obstinately contested, but nothing could withstand the charge of Alexander's cavalry. Porus continued to maintain the conflict long after the great body of his troops had deserted him, but was at length persuaded to yield Alexander, who always honoured valour in an enemy, received him with distinguished courtesy; and not only restored his kingdom, but made considerable additions to it. Porus did not abuse this confidence, but remained ever after faithful to his generous victor.

Progress and return of Alexander.

After the defeat of Porus, Alexander crossed the Chenab and the Ravee, and came in contact with a body of Cathaians, probably Tartar immigrants, who maintained an obstinate struggle, which is said to have terminated only after the slaughter of 16,000, and the captivity of 70,000 of their number. On reaching the banks of the Sutlege Alexander heard of the great Gangetic kingdom of Mugudu, the king of which, it was reported, could bring

30,000 cavalry, and 600,000 foot, and 9,000 elephants into the field. He determined to march down and plant his standard on the battlements of its magnificent capital, Palibothra, which was nine miles in length; and his troops received orders to prepare for crossing the river. But they were worn out with the fatigue and wounds of eight campaigns; their spirits had moreover been depressed by the deluge of rain to which they had been exposed during the monsoon, and they refused to accompany him any farther. He employed menace and flattery by turns, but nothing could shake their resolution, and he was reluctantly obliged to make the Sutlege the limit of his expedition, and return to the Indus, where he caused a large flotilla to be constructed, and sailed down the stream with all the pomp of a conqueror.

Alexander's projects and death.

The views of Alexander were gigantic and beneficial beyond those of every other ruler in ancient times. He had erected the port of Alexandria on the Mediterranean shore of Egypt, and at the end of twenty-two centuries it still continues to attest the grandeur of his plans. He now resolved to establish a commercial intercourse between the coast of India, the rivers of Persia and the Red Sea. For this object he built a city and harbour at the estuary of the Indus, and fitted out a large fleet, which he entrusted to his admiral, Nearchus, with orders to proceed to the mouth of the Euphrates. The voyage, though tedious, proved successful, and was justly considered one of the greatest naval achievements of the age. In the midst of these great projects Alexander caught a jungle fever in the marshes of Babylon, and died two years after his return from India, at the early age of thirty-two. He was fully bent on returning to it; and there can be little doubt that if he had succeeded in crossing the Sutlege he would have made a complete conquest of the country, and given it the benefit of European civilization. His name does not appear in any Hindoo work—a proof of the lamentable imperfection of the records which have come down to us; but his fame was widely

diffused through India by the Mahomedan conquerors, among whom he was esteemed a magnificent hero. It was carried far and wide on the ocean with the stream of their conquests; and the distant islander of Java and Sumatra may be found singing the deeds of the mighty "Iscander."

Nundu, Chundra-goopta.

At the period of Alexander's invasion, Nundu, a prince of the Takshuk race, was seated on the Mugudu throne at Palibothra. He was assasinated by his prime minister, and is said to have been succeeded by eight sons in succession. Their illegitimate brother, Chundra-goopta, the offspring of a barber's wife, was expelled from the kingdom, and wandered for some years through the various provinces of Hindostan. He was at length placed upon the throne through the efforts of the minister, Chanikya, who put all the members of the royal family to death, and afterwards endeavoured to atone for the crime by penances so severe, that after the lapse of 2,000 years, the "remorse of Chanikya," is still the popular emblem of penitence. Chundra-goopta was a prince of extraordinary energy and talent, and, though a soodra, is stated in the hyperbolical language of the Poorans to have "brought the whole earth under one umbrella." The empire of Alexander the Great was, on his death, divided among his generals, of whom Seleucus, one of the ablest and most enterprising, obtained the province of Babylon, which comprised all the territory up to the Indus which had been subjugated by his master. Having determined to carry out his ambitious views on the east, he crossed the Indus with a powerful army, and was opposed by Chundra-goopta and the whole strength of the Mugudu empire. According to the Greek historians, Seleucus was completely victorious, which it is difficult to reconcile with the fact that in the treaty he made with the Indian prince, he resigned all the territory which had been acquired east of the Indus for an annual subsidy of fifty elephants, and likewise bestowed his daughter in marriage on him. Megasthenes was at the same time appointed his representative at the court of Palibothra, and it is from his reports

that the Greek writers chiefly derived their knowledge of India.

The Mugudu kingdom.

After a reign of twenty-four years, Chundra-goopta was succeeded by his son, Mitra-goopta, with whom Seleucus renewed the treaty. The great kingdom of Mugudu maintained its pre-eminence in the valley of the Ganges, under a succession of royal families who appear to have been either soodras or boodhists, for a period of eight centuries from the year 350 before our era to 450 after it. Under their government the country is said to have attained the highest prosperity. A royal road extended from Palibothra to the Indus, with a small column at every stage. Another road stretched across the country to Broach, at that time the great emporium of commerce on the western coast. They encouraged learning with great munificence, and it is recorded that they endeavoured to diffuse it among the common people by the cultivation of the vernacular tongues; and this, as it would seem, at the period when the Sanscrit had reached the summit of perfection in the two epics of the Muhabharut and the Ramayun. They appear also to have given every encouragement to trade, both domestic and foreign. While the silent Indus, as at present, exhibited no sign of commercial activity, the Ganges was covered with sails, and the produce of its various provinces was brought down to the sea-coast and conveyed across the ocean to the east and the west. The kingdom of Mugudu embraced what is designated in history the three *Culingas;* that is, the northern section of the Coromandel coast;—the sea face of Bengal from Balasore to Chittagong,—then the abode of men and not of tigers,—and the coast of Arracan. Its subjects were thus stimulated to engage in maritime enterprise, and the Mugudu fleet crossed the bay of Bengal to the island of Java, and introduced the Hindoo religion to its inhabitants either in the current of conquest or of commerce. The native historians of that island fix the year 75 before our era as the time when they received Hindooism from India. Many magnifi-

cent monuments attest the diffusion of this religion, besides the fact that the language of literature and devotion in Java is a form of the Sanscrit. In the fourth century a Chinese pilgrim recorded that the island was peopled by Hindoos; that in its ports he found vessels manned by Hindoo sailors which had sailed from the mouth of the Ganges to Ceylon, and from thence to Java, and were preparing to proceed on to China. A Hindoo government existed in Java till within the last 400 years, when it was subverted by the Mahomedans. Hindooism still continues to flourish in the neighbouring island of Bali, where the fourfold division of caste still survives, and widows are said still to ascend the funeral pile. Yet so signal has been the mutation of habits and opinions among the Hindoos of India, that any Hindoo who might visit the country to which his ancestors carried the institutes of his religion, and in which they exist in greater integrity than in India itself, would not be permitted to remain within the pale of the caste.

The Ugnikools. The Hindoo annalists affirm that about two centuries before our era, the brahmins "regenerated the Ugnikools," literally the fiery generation, to fight their battles with the boodhists. The real origin of this race is lost in hopeless obscurity, and we have only a poetical version of their appearance, which may serve as an example of the mode in which historical facts have been bequeathed to posterity, and of the difficulty of separating them from allegory. Ignorance and infidelity, we are told, had spread over the land; the sacred books were trampled under foot, and mankind had no refuge from the monstrous brood—of boodhists. At the summit of Mount Aboo dwelt the holy sages who had carried their complaints to the sea of curds, on which the father of creation was floating on the back of a hydra. He commanded them to return to Mount Aboo, and recreate the race of the kshetriyas—whom Purusramu, an incarnation of the deity, had exterminated. They returned accordingly with the four chief divinities, and a multitude of

secondary gods. The fountain of fire was purified with water brought from the sacred stream of the Ganges. After the performance of expiatory rites, each of the four gods formed an image and cast it into the fountain, and there sprung up the four men who became the founders of Rajpoot greatness. They were sent out to combat the monsters, who were slaughtered in great numbers, but as their blood touched the ground fresh demons arose; upon which, the four gods stopped the multiplication of the race, by drinking up their blood. The infidels thus became extinct; shouts of joy rent the skies; ambrosial showers descended from above, and the gods drove about the firmament in their cars, exulting in the victory they had gained.

Expulsion of the boodhists

This allegory of the regeneration of the Ugnikools at the fire fountain, evidently points to some religious conversion, or some political revolution. Of the four divisions into which they branched, the Prumuras became the most powerful. Their dominions extended beyond the Nerbudda, and comprehended all central and western India. The Indus formed their boundary on the west. They carried their arms into the Deccan, and appear, in fact, to have been the first to extend the Hindoo religion and power to the south of the Nerbudda. As brahminism did not become predominant till after many bloody conflicts with boodhism, it is not improbable that it was the alliance with the Ugnikools, which rendered the brahmins triumphant, and enabled them to extend their religious power from the kingdom of Cunouj to the southern extremities of the peninsula. The boodhists retreated in great numbers to Ceylon, carrying with them that passion for cave temples, for which they were distinguished. In that island they raised one of the most stupendous monuments of human labour in the world. Excavated by their exertions from the solid rock, we discover a series of temples, of which the largest is 140 feet long, 90 wide, and 45 in height, and which contains a recumbent image of Boodh, 30 feet in length. The temples which the

boodhists were constrained to relinquish were speedily occupied by the brahmins, and Vishnoo and Sivu displaced Boodh.

Cave temples in India.

Under the brahmins, the construction of these cave temples was extended and improved. Those which they erected at Ellora, in the Deccan, exceed in magnificence anything to be seen elsewhere. In a range of hills which extend five miles in the form of a horse shoe we discover a range of grotto temples, two and often three stories in height. The most remarkable of them is the temple of Koilas, or the palace of Muhadevu. Here is to be found whatever is splendid in architecture, or exquisite in sculpture. The scene is crowded with staircases, bridges, chapels, columns, porticoes, obelisks, and colossal statues, all chiselled out of the solid rock. The sides of these wonderful chambers are covered with figures of the Hindoo gods and goddesses, and representations from the Ramayun and the Muhabharut. The pantheon of Ellora seems to have been the citadel of Hindooism when it spread into the Deccan. The precise age of these magnificent excavations it is impossible to fix, but it must have been at some period during the ten or twelve centuries which elapsed between the subjugation of the boodhists, and the arrival of the Mahomedans, in the high and palmy state of Hindooism, when the brahmins swayed the ecclesiastical sceptre of India without a rival or an enemy.

Vikramadityu.

The age of Vikramadityu follows the supposed subjection of the boodhists. He is said to have been descended from one of the Ugnikool chieftains, the Prumura, now contracted to Puar. His reign began fifty-six years before our era, and the ancient city of Oojein was his capital. He is described as the greatest monarch of his age, of which there is the most satisfactory proof in the fact that his era is still current throughout Hindostan. He encouraged literature beyond all former example. He invited learned brahmins from every part of India, and rewarded them with magnificent presents, and they have repaid him by investing

him with immortality. They have exhausted the resources of flattery in their attempt to describe the magnitude of his power, and have assured us, that without his permission the loadstone had no power over iron, or amber on the chaff ot the field. So exemplary was his temperance, that while in the enjoyment of supreme power, he constantly slept on a mat, which, with a waterpot replenished from the spring, formed the whole furniture of his chamber. It is stated that while he extended his patronage to the worship of the gods and goddesses, then rising into popularity, he himself continued to profess the old creed, and adored the one infinite and invisible God.

The birth of Jesus Christ. Fifty-six years after the accession of Vikrumadityu, Jesus Christ, the promised Messiah, became incarnate in the land of Judea, and made an atonement for the sins of men, by offering himself as a sacrifice. On the third day he rose from the dead, and after giving his disciples a commission to proclaim to mankind the glad tidings of salvation through his redemption, ascended to heaven. One of his disciples, St. Thomas, is generally supposed to have introduced Christianity into India, where he obtained many converts. The Hindoo legends present so many points of similarity with the facts of the New Testament, as to leave little doubt that the events connected with the life and death of the Saviour of mankind were widely disseminated through India, and embodied, though in a distorted form, in the writings of Hindoo poets and sages.

The Andras. It is about this period that we find the Andras dynasty enjoying great power in the Gangetic provinces, and their fame extending even to Rome. They were probably one of the families which successively filled the Mugudu throne. They appear to have gained it about twenty years before our era, and to have held it on till the year 436. The only notice of any of the monarchs of this line which has survived their extinction refers to Kurnu, whose fame was spread to the islands of the eastern archipelago, which were

probably visited by his fleet. He still lives in the memory of posterity, and a man of extraordinary liberality is always compared to king Kurnu. The centuries which elapsed between the decay of the Andras and the invasion of the Mahomedans are filled up by the historians with barren lists of dynasties and kings which can be turned to no account; and we turn therefore from the history of Hindostan to the annals of the Deccan.

Early history of the Deccan.

The early history of the Deccan is less obscure and less romantic than that of the northern division of India. All the traditions and records recognise in every province of it a period when the inhabitants did not profess the Hindoo religion. The brahminical writers describe them as mountaineers and foresters, goblins, and monsters; but there is every reason to conclude that they had reached a high degree of civilization at a very early age. Ravunu, when attacked by Ramu, was the sovereign of a powerful and civilized state, which embraced not only the island of Ceylon, but the whole of the southern division of the peninsula; and his subjects were, doubtless, far more advanced in the arts and literature than the invaders. A Tamul literature existed before the introduction of brahminism; and some of the best authors in that language were of the tribe now stigmatised as *pariars*, which incontestibly proves that the *pariars* were the aborigines of the country, and a highly cultivated people, who were reduced to subjection and degraded by the triumphant brahmins. This remark applies to the group of tribes comprised in the ancient Telingana, Draviru and Kerulu.

The Pandyas and the Cholas.

The most ancient kingdoms of the Deccan appear to have been those of the Pandyas and the Cholas, established in the extreme south, where the Tamul language prevailed. Of the former, the seat of government, after having been twice removed, was fixed at Madura, where it was in existence in the time of Ptolemy, the great geographer of antiquity. In the ninth century the reigning family lost its consequence, but continued to linger in the

scene of its early power till 1736, when the last of that royal line was conquered by the nabob of Arcot. The kingdom of Chola—which some identify with Coromandel—had Canchi, or Conjeveram, for its capital, and retained its vigour for many centuries, and, about the eighth century, appears to have extended its authority over a considerable portion of Carnata and Telingana. But its princes were driven back and confined to their former limits about the tenth century, and maintained a feeble existence, either as independent sovereigns, or as tributaries to the great Hindoo monarchy of Beejuynugur, till the province was subdued in the middle of the seventeenth century by Shahjee, the father of Sevajee, the founder of Mahratta greatness.

Kerulu and Telingana.

The ancient division of Kerulu included Malabar and Carnata, which are said to have been miraculously peopled with brahmins by their champion Purusramu, the renowned destroyer of the kshetriyus. Apart from this legend, it would appear that about the second century a colony of brahmins introduced themselves and their religion into this province, which they divided into sixty-four districts, and governed for a time by an ecclesiastical senate, over which a brahmin was chosen to preside every three years; but they were subsequently subjected to the Pandya kingdom. About the ninth century the country was broken into various principalities; one of the most important of which, Calicut, was under the government of the Hindoo Zamorin when the Europeans first landed in India, under Vasco de Gama, in 1498. Of the history of Telingana no authentic records have been discovered, but it appears that about the eleventh century the Bellal dynasty attained paramount power in this region. They dignified themselves with the title of Rajpoots, of the Yadoo branch, and at one period extended their authority over the whole of Carnata, Malabar, and Telingana; but it was extinguished by the Mahomedans in 1310.

Orissa and Maharastra.

The early annals of Orissa are equally indistinct. The authentic history of the province

does not commence before the year 473, when the Kesari family obtained the throne, and held it till 1131. They were succeeded by the line of Gungu-bungsu, who maintained their power till it was subverted by the Mahomedan in 1568. Of the Mahratta province there are only two facts distinctly visible in history; the existence, more than twenty centuries ago, of the great commercial mart of Tagara, so well known to the Romans, which has been identified with Deogur, the modern Dowlutabad, and was the capital of a long line of monarchs. The other event is the reign of Salivahun. All that is known of that prince, however, is that he was the son of a potter, that he headed a successful insurrection, dethroned the reigning family, and established a monarchy so powerful and extensive that it gave rise to an era which has survived him for eighteen centuries, and still continues current in the Deccan.

The Rajpoot family of Chittore.

While the Gangetic empire of the Andras was crumbling to pieces, the Rajpoot family of Chittore, now settled at Oodypore, was rising into notice. By the general suffrage of the Hindoos in the western provinces its descent is traced from Loh, the eldest son of Ramu, the hero of the Rumayun, and it, therefore, claims pre-eminence among the Hindoo princes of India. The family originally migrated to the country of Surat, and fixed their capital at Balabhipore, in the Gulf of Cambay. The town was sacked about the year 524 by the son of Noshirvan the just, king of Persia, but the Rajpoot queen escaped the general destruction and took refuge in a cave, where she gave birth to a son, Goha. The youth subsequently established a kingdom at Edur, and married the granddaughter of the Persian king, and of his queen, the daughter of Maurice, the Christian emperor of Constantinople. From Goha are lineally descended the rajas of Oodypore. "Thus," remarks the historian of Rajpootana, "we are led to the singular conclusion that the Hindoo *sooruj*, or sun, the descendant of a hundred kings, the undisputed possessor of the honours of Ramu, the patriarch

of the solar race, from whom other Hindoo princes, before they can succeed to the throne of their fathers, must obtain the *teluk*, or sign of royalty and investiture, is in fact the offspring of a Christian princess." Eight princes succeeded Goha on the throne of Edur, the last of whom was put to death by his sons while hunting, but his infant son, Bappa, was conveyed to the fortress of Bhandere, and brought up among the shepherds. His mother aroused his ambition by revealing to him the secret of his royal birth, and he immediately proceeded to the court of Chittore, together with the followers he had been able to collect, and was favourably received by the king, but the nobles took umbrage at the favour shown to an unknown youth. At this juncture a formidable foe came down upon the country, and the chiefs refused to furnish their feudal contingents, but Bappa offered without any hesitation to lead the national troops into the field. That enemy was the Mahomedans, who now for the first time advanced into the heart of a country destined in after times to form one of their most magnificent empires.

Rise of Mahomedan power.

Mahomed was born at Mecca, in Arabia, in the year 569, and at the age of forty, announced himself a prophet commissioned by God to convert the human race to the "true faith," by the agency of the sword. Having, by the force of his genius and eloquence, gained many proselytes in his native land, he raised an army of Arabs to subjugate the surrounding nations to his power and his creed, and commenced that career of conquest which was pursued by his successors with unexampled vigour and rapidity. Province after province, and kingdom after kingdom submitted to their arms, and in the brief period of half a century, they had subverted or shaken the political institutions of the west. From the birth of Mahomedanism, its votaries were animated with the resolution to establish, by force of arms, a universal monarchy in which there should be but one law civil and religious, one prophet and one creed. Every Musulman who fell in this warfare, was promised a residence

in paradise in the society of the black-eyed houris. It was not to be expected, that when the "Faithful," as they were termed, had conquered Africa and Spain, subverted the Persian empire, and looked on Europe as already their own, the rich provinces of India, which had been for ages the prey of every invader, should escape their notice.

First Mahomedan invasion. Within a few years after the death of Mahomed, the Caliph Omar founded Bussorah, at the estuary of the Tigris, and despatched an army into the province of Sinde. The invasion was repeated under his successors, but it was not till the days of Walid, that any successful effort was made to obtain a footing in the country. Between the years 705 and 715, he not only made an entire conquest of the province, but carried his victorious army to the banks of the Ganges. It was the generals of this caliph who crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, planted the standard of the crescent on the soil of Europe, and subdued Spain in a single campaign. So lofty was the ambition which animated the early successors of Mahomed, that their arms were triumphant at the same time on the banks of the Ebro and the Ganges, and they aspired to the conquest both of Europe and India. Three years after the invasion of Walid, his general Mahomed ben Cossim overran the kingdom of Guzerat, and called on every city either to embrace the creed of the prophet, or to pay tribute. In case of refusal, the fighting men were put to the sword, and the women and children reduced to slavery, but the cultivators, artizans, and merchants are said to have suffered little molestation. Cossim at length advanced to Chittore, when the young Bappa placed himself at the head of the Rajpoot army, and not only completely defeated him, but expelled him from India. On his return to Chittore, Bappa was hailed by the nobles and people as their deliverer, and advanced to the throne, and from him are descended the ranas who now reign at Oodypore. After having governed the country for many years with great success, he abandoned his kingdom and his religion, and marched with his troops

across the Indus to Khorasan, where he married many Mahomedan wives, and left a numerous progeny.

Renewed attack on Chittore.

It was about this period that the Prumura family, which had ruled for many centuries at Oojein, is supposed to have lost its authority in the north of India, and other kingdoms rose on its ruins. The Tuars occupied the districts around Delhi, and made that city their capital. Guzerat became independent, and was governed at first by the Chouras and then by the Solankis. The Rajpoot annalists state, that in the days of Khoman, the great grandson of Bappa, whose reign extended from 812 to 836, Chittore was again invaded by the Mahomedans under Mahmoon, the governor of Khorasan, probably the son of the celebrated Caliph, Haroun-ul-Rashid, the contemporary and friend of Charlemagne. The other princes in the north of India hastened to the assistance of the Rajpoots against the common enemy, and the national bard gives an animated description of the different tribes who composed the chivalry of the north on this occasion. With the aid of these allies, Khoman defeated and expelled the Musulmans, with whom he is said to have fought no fewer than twenty-four engagements. For a century and a half after this period, we hear of no further Mahomedan invasion, and it cannot but appear a very notable circumstance, that while the followers of the Prophet completely subjugated Persia and Spain in two or three campaigns, the resistance which they met in their early encounters with the Hindoos was so compact and resolute, that nearly three centuries elapsed after the first invasion, before they could make any permanent impression on India.

The Cunouj brahmins in Bengal.

The only authentic event to be further noticed previous to the irruption of Mahmood of Ghuzni, relates to the kingdom of Bengal. Cunouj, the cradle and the citadel of Hindooism, had recovered its importance under a new dynasty. Adisoor, of the Vidyu, or medical race of kings then ruling Bengal, and holding its court at Nuddea, became dissatisfied with the ignorance of his priests,

and applied to the king of Cunouj for a supply of brahmins well versed in the Hindoo shasters and observances. That monarch, about nine centuries ago sent him five brahmins, from whom all the brahminical families in Bengal trace their descent; while the kayusts, the next in order, derive their origin from the five servants who attended the priests.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE DYNASTY OF GHUZNI TO THAT OF TOGHLUK, 1009—1321.

Movements in Khorasan and Cabul.

WE have now reached the period when the Mahomedan empire in India may be said to have had a substantial beginning.

The opulent regions of Khorasan and Transoxiana had been conquered by the Arabs in the first century of the hejira, and continued under the government of the lieutenants of the Caliphs, for more than 180 years. But after the death of Haroun-ul-Rashid, the most illustrious of that line of princes, their authority began to decline, and the different provinces aspired to independence, till at length, little, if anything remained of the once splendid empire of the Caliphs, except the city of Bagdad and its immediate dependencies. Among the governors who thus assumed royalty, was Ismael Samani, a Tartar and a Turk, who seized on Transoxiana and Khorasan as well as Afghanistan, about the year 862, and fixed the seat of his government at Bokhara. This dynasty, called that of the Samanides flourished for about 120 years. The fifth prince of the line had a Tartar slave of the name of Aluptugeen, a man of good sense and courage, who rose through the gradations of office to the government of Candahar, or

Ghuzni. On the death of his patron, a controversy arose about the succession, and Aluptugeen voted against his son, who was, however, raised to the throne by the other chiefs. Aluptugeen having thus incurred his resentment, retreated to his own government, and declared himself independent; and after defeating two armies sent against him, was allowed to remain unmolested. He had purchased a slave of Turkistan, of the name of Subuktugeen, who, though claiming descent from the illustrious Persian dynasty of the Sassanides had been reduced to the most abject poverty. His master, who had discovered great powers of mind in him, gradually raised him to such trust and power, that he became the first subject in the kingdom, and in 976 succeeded to the throne.

Hindoos attack Subuktugeen, 977

The provinces in the extreme north of India, and more particularly the Punjab, had for many centuries been linked with the fortunes and policy of Cabul and Candahar which lay to the west of the Indus. Hence, the establishment of a powerful Mahomedan kingdom, under a vigorous ruler, at no greater distance from the frontier of India than Ghuzni, gave no little disquietude to Jeypal, the Hindoo chief of Lahore. He determined to anticipate any designs which Subuktugeen might form on India, and crossed the Indus with a large army to Lughman, at the entrance of the valley which extends from Peshawur to Cabul, where he was met by that prince. While the two armies faced each other, a violent tempest of wind, rain, and thunder arose, which is said to have terrified the superstitious soldiers of Jeypal to such a degree, as to constrain him to sue for an accommodation, that he might escape to his own country. The Hindoo was the aggressor, and the treaty was not granted except on the surrender of fifty elephants, and the promise of a large sum of money. The envoys of Subuktugeen followed Jeypal to Lahore for payment, but on hearing that his opponent had been obliged to march towards the west to repel an invasion, he was disposed to withhold it. The brahmins, says the native historian, stood on the right of the throne, and urged

him to refuse the tribute, since there was nothing to be any longer apprehended from Ghuzni; while his kshetriyu officers, standing on the left, reminded him of the sufferings beyond the Indus which had extorted the contribution, and, above all, of his royal word which he had pledged to the Mahomedan prince. In an evil hour, Jeypal listened to the priests, and imprisoned the envoys. Subuktugeen speedily disposed of his enemies in the west, and marched with a large army towards the Indus, breathing vengeance against the author of the insult. Jeypal, notwithstanding his perfidy, succeeded in enlisting the aid of the kings of Delhi, Ajmere, Calinjer, and Cunouj, and advanced across the Indus, it is said, with 100,000 horse and countless infantry. The Hindoos were utterly routed, and pursued to the banks of the river. Subuktugeen found a rich plunder in their camp, and obliged all the tribes up to the Indus to submit to his authority.

Mahmood's first and second irruption, 1001.

Subuktugeen died in 997, and was succeeded, in the first instance, by his son Ismael, but he was superseded in a few months by his brother, the renowned Mahmood of Ghuzni, who inflicted the severest blow on the Hindoo power which it had ever experienced since its original establishment in India. From his early youth Mahmood had accompanied his father in his numerous expeditions, and thus acquired a passion and a talent for war. He succeeded to the resources of the kingdom at the age of thirty, burning with ambition to enlarge its boundaries. Having spent the first four years of his reign in consolidating his government west of the Indus, he cast his eye on the rich plains of Hindostan filled with idolaters, and invested with a romantic interest. In addition to the wealth he might acquire, the glory of extending the triumphs of Mahomedanism through new and unknown regions, possessed an irresistible charm for his mind. He began his crusade against the Hindoos in the year 1001, and conducted no fewer than twelve expeditions against the northern provinces, which, being held by various independent princes, fell an easy prey to his arms.

He left Ghuzni in August with 10,000 chosen horse, and was met at Peshawur by his father's old antagonist, Jeypal, who was totally defeated, and taken prisoner, but released on the promise of paying tribute. According to the Persian historian, it was a custom or law of the Hindoos that a prince who had been twice defeated by the Mahomedan arms was considered unworthy to reign. Jeypal, therefore, resigned the throne to his son Anungpal, and closed the misfortunes of his reign by ascending the funeral pyre in regal state. Some of the chiefs subordinate to Lahore, however, refused to pay the contributions demanded of them, among whom was the raja of Bhutnere, situated at the northern extremity of the Bikaneer desert. The Sultan proceeded against him; the fort was taken after a siege of three days, and the prince, to avoid falling into the hands of the victor, fell upon his own sword.

His third and fourth expeditions, 1005—8.

Mahmood's third expedition was undertaken to subdue Daood, whom he had left governor of Mooltan, but who, under the encouragement of Anungpal, had revolted against his master. Mooltan was invested for seven days, but an irruption of the Tartars from beyond the Oxus, constrained Mahmood to accept the submissions of the governor. Having succeeded in driving the Tartars back to their seats, he returned to India on his fourth expedition to chastise Anungpal for the revolt he had instigated, and for his repeated perfidies. That prince had sent envoys to the Hindoo monarchs in the north of Hindostan to the kings of Oojein, Calinjer, Gwalior, Cunouj, Delhi, and Ajmere, who formed a confederation and assembled the largest army which had as yet taken the field against the Mahomedans. The Hindoo women are said to have melted down their gold ornaments and sold their jewels to support the war, which was considered holy. The Hindoo troops again crossed the Indus and advanced to Peshawur, where the two armies were encamped opposite to each other for forty days, before joining issue. Mahmood at length commenced the

engagement by a large body of archers, but they were driven back with the loss of 5,000, by the impetuosity of the bare-headed and bare-footed Gukkers, a tribe of savages, living in the hills and fastnesses to the east of the Indus, the ancestors of the modern Jauts. The battle was long doubtful, but was at length decided by the flight of the wounded elephant or Anungpal, when the whole body of Hindoos, no longer having their leader before their eyes, dispersed in utter disorder, leaving 20,000 dead on the field. Mahmood determined to allow them no time to rally, but on reaching the Punjab found their discomfiture so complete so as to afford him leisure for a plundering expedition to the temple of Nagarcote, north-west of Lahore, a place of peculiar sanctity, built over a natural flame which issued from the mountain, and was the origin of its religious renown. It was so strongly fortified as to be deemed impregnable; it was therefore selected as the depository of the wealth of the neighbourhood, and was said at this time to contain a greater quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls than was to be found in the treasury of any prince on earth. It was, however, captured with ease, and Mahmood is said to have carried away 700 mauns of gold and silver plate, 200 mauns of pure gold in ingots, and 200 mauns of jewels. His next expedition was directed against Thanesur, about sixty miles from Delhi, one of the most ancient and opulent shrines in the north of India. Anungpal sent his brother to entreat the sultan to spare the temple which was held in the same veneration by the Hindoos as Mecca was by the Mahomedans. Mahmood replied, that the religion of the prophet inculcated this precept that the reward of his followers in heaven would be in proportion to the diffusion of its tenets and the extermination of idolatry. His mission to India was to root out the idols; how then could he spare Thanesur? The Hindoo princes were therefore summoned to its defence, but before their arrival, the shrine was captured and all the costly images, and shrines, and wealth, together with 200,000 captives were

Capture of Nagarcote, 1008.

Capture of Thanesur, 1011.

sent off to Ghuzni, which now began to wear the appearance of a Hindoo city.

Capture of Cunouj, 1017.

During the next three years Mahmood was engaged in two expeditions to Cashmere, of minor consequence—reckoned the seventh and eighth; after which he subdued the whole of Transoxiana, and extended his dominion to the Caspian sea. In the year 1017 he resolved to penetrate to the heart of Hindostan, and assembled an army of 100,000 horse and 20,000 foot, drawn chiefly from the recently conquered provinces, the inhabitants of which were allured to his standard by the love of plunder and of adventure. He set out from Peshawur, and passed three months in skirting the hills, after which he marched southward, and presented himself unexpectedly before the city of Cunouj, which had been renowned in Hindoo history for twenty centuries. The description given of its grandeur, both by Hindoo and Mahomedan writers, staggers our belief, more especially when we consider the limited extent of the kingdom, and the ease with which it was subdued on this occasion. Its standing army is said to have consisted of 80,000 men in armour, 30,000 horsemen, with quilted mail, and 500,000 well equipped infantry. The city, moreover, is reported to have contained 60,000 families of musicians. The raja, taken unawares, was constrained to submit, and to enter into an alliance with the sultan, who remained in the city only three days and then turned his steps towards Muttra. This ecclesiastical city, the birth-place of the deified hero Krishnu, was filled with temples, and the shrines blazed with jewels. But it fell an easy prey to the Mahomedans, and was given up to plunder for twenty days, during which the idols were melted down or demolished. Some of the temples, however, were spared, on account either of their matchless beauty, or their solidity. "Here are a thousand edifices," writes the sultan, "as firm as the creed of the faithful—most of them of marble, besides innumerable temples. Such another city could not be constructed under two centuries." After capturing many other towns, and ravaging many districts, Mahmood at length returned to Ghuzni, laden

with plunder and captives; and the latter became so common as not to be worth more than two rupees a head.

Somnath, 1024. Passing over two expeditions of less moment, we come to the last and most celebrated in which Mahmood was engaged, and which is considered by the Mahomedans as the model of a religious crusade—the capture and plunder of Somnath. This shrine was at the time one of the most wealthy and celebrated in India. It is affirmed that at the period of an eclipse it was crowded with 200,000 pilgrims, that it was endowed with the rent of 2,000 villages, and that the image was daily bathed with water, brought from the sacred stream of the Ganges, a distance of 1,000 miles. Its establishment consisted of 2,000 brahmins, 300 barbers to shave the pilgrims when their vows were accomplished, 200 musicians, and 300 courtesans. To reach the temple Mahmood was obliged to cross the desert with his army, 350 miles in extent, by no means the least arduous of his exploits. He appeared unexpectedly before the capital of the province, and the raja, though considered one of the most powerful princes in India, was constrained to abandon it and take to flight. Pursuing his route to the temple the sultan found it situated on a peninsula connected with the main land by a fortified isthmus, which was manned at every point with soldiers. As he approached it, a herald issued from the portal and menaced the invader with destruction in the name of the god. Mahmood ordered his archers to clear the fortifications; the defenders retired to the temple, and prostrating themselves before the image supplicated with tears for help. The next day there was a general charge by the Mahomedan troops; but the Hindoos were roused to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and vigorously repulsed the assailants. On the third day the chiefs in the neighbourhood assembled their troops for the defence of the shrine. The battle raged with great fury, and was for a time doubtful. The Mahomedans began to waver, when the sultan prostrated himself to implore the Divine assistance, as he was accustomed to do in every

emergency; and then leaping into the saddle cheered on his troops. Ashamed to abandon a prince under whom they had so often fought and bled, they rushed on their enemies with an impetuosity which nothing could withstand. Five thousand Hindoos fell under their sabres, and the remainder rushed to their boats. On entering the temple Mahmood was struck with its grandeur. The lofty roof was supported by fifty-six pillars, curiously carved and richly studded with precious stones. The external light was excluded, and the shrine was lighted by a single lamp, suspended by a golden chain, the lustre of which was reflected from the numerous jewels with which the walls were embossed. Facing the entrance stood the lofty idol five yards in height, two of which were buried in the ground. Mahmood ordered it to be broken up, when the brahmins cast themselves at his feet and offered an immense sum to ransom it. His courtiers besought him to accept the offer, and he hesitated for a moment; but he soon recovered himself, and exclaimed that he would rather be known as the destroyer than the seller of images. He then struck the idol with his mace; his soldiers followed the example; and the figure, which was hollow, speedily burst under their blows, and poured forth a quantity of jewels and diamonds, greatly exceeding in value the sum which had been offered for its redemption. The wealth acquired in this expedition exceeded that of any which had preceded it; and the mind is bewildered with the enumeration of treasures and jewels estimated by the maun. The sandal-wood gates of Somnath were sent as a trophy to Ghuzni, where they remained for eight centuries, till they were brought back to India in a triumphal procession by a Christian ruler.

Mahmood's projects and death, 1030.

Mahmood was so charmed with the beauty and the fertility of the country around Somnath, that he proposed at one time to make it the seat of his empire, and likewise to construct a navy to be sent in search of the pearls of Ceylon, and the gold of Pegu. But he had the wisdom to relinquish these projects, and, having placed a

prince of his own choice on the throne of Guzerat, returned to Ghuzni, after a toilsome and perilous march through the desert. Two years after, his power reached its culminating point by the conquest of Persia, but his reputation was tarnished by the slaughter of some thousands of the inhabitants of Ispahan, who had obstinately resisted his arms. This execution was the more remarkable, as in all his campaigns in India, he never shed the blood of a Hindoo, except in the heat of battle, or in a siege. Soon after his return from this expedition, he expired at his capital in the year 1030, and in the sixtieth of his age. Two days before his death, he caused all the gold and silver and jewels of which he had despoiled India, to be spread out before him, that he might feast his eyes for the last time with the sight, and then burst into tears. The next day he commanded his army, infantry, cavalry, and elephants, to be drawn up in review before him, and wept at the prospect of leaving them.

Mahmood was the greatest prince of his time; the Mahomedans, indeed, consider him the greatest prince of any age. He had all the elements of greatness, exemplary prudence, boundless activity, and great courage. His success in war has given him the highest military reputation, while the perfect order which prevailed throughout his vast dominions, notwithstanding his frequent absence in the field, proves that he likewise possessed the greatest talent for civil affairs. His court was the most magnificent in Asia; his taste in architecture was more particularly developed after his return from Cunouj and Muttra, when he determined to make his own capital worthy of his empire. He erected a mosque of granite and marble, called the Celestial Bride, which filled every beholder with astonishment, and became the wonder of Central Asia. His nobility vied with him in the erection of magnificent buildings, and in a short time the metropolis, which had been a mere collection of hovels, was ornamented with mosques, porches, fountains, reservoirs, acqueducts and palaces, beyond any other city in the east. He has been

charged with avarice, but if he was rapacious in acquiring wealth, he was noble and judicious in the employment of it. Few Mahomedan princes have ever equalled him in the encouragement of learning. He founded a university at Ghuzni, and furnished it with a large collection of valuable manuscripts, and a museum of natural curiosities. He set aside a lac of rupees a year for pensions to learned men, and his munificence brought together a larger assembly of literary genius than was to be found in any other Asiatic court. In the space of thirty years, he extended his dominions from the Persian gulf to the sea of Aral, and from the mountains of Curdestan to the banks of the Sutlege; yet while in possession of this great empire, he considered it his highest glory to be designated the "image-breaker."

Musaood, 1030—1040. Mahmood left two sons, twins; the eldest, Mahomed, had recommended himself to his father by his gentleness and docility, and was nominated his successor. The younger Musaood had become popular with the nobles and the army, by his martial qualities, and within five months of his father's decease, marched to Ghuzni, deprived his brother of his throne and his sight, and made himself king. In the year 1034 he conducted an expedition to Cashmere, which he subdued, but was recalled to the defence of his dominions by the irruption of a horde of Turki-Tartars, denominated Seljuks. His father had on one occasion defeated them, but he let them off on easy terms, and they recrossed the Oxus in such numbers as to threaten the safety of his empire. Among the generals now sent to oppose their progress, was Jey-sen, the commander of Musaood's Indian battalions, from which we infer, that even at that early period the Mahomedan invaders found the Hindoos ready to enlist under their banners, and even to cross the Indus and fight their battles. The Seljuks offered their submission and were admitted to terms, which only served to increase their ambition and cupidity; Musaood was impatient to renew his attacks on the Hindoos, but was opposed by advice of his

wisest councillors, who represented to him that the incessant encroachments of the Seljuks required his exclusive attention. He persisted, however, in marching to India, where he captured the fortress of Hansi, but was recalled by a fresh invasion of the ever-restless Seljuks. Musaood appointed his son governor of the two provinces of Mooltan and Lahore, which were now permanently annexed to Ghuzni, and marched against the invaders in person, but after two years of indecisive warfare, Togrul Beg, the great Seljuk chief, advanced up to the gates of Ghuzni. At length, the two armies met on equal terms, when Musaood was deserted in the field by some of his Turki followers, and totally and irretrievably defeated. He then resolved to withdraw to India, in the hope of being able quietly to retrieve his fortunes in that country. But his army was totally disorganized, and, on crossing the Indus, deposed him, and restored his brother Mahomed to the throne. The blindness of that prince rendered him incapable of conducting the government, and he transferred it to his son, Ahmed, whose first act was to put the dethroned Musaood to death—in the tenth year of his reign.

Succession of kings, 1040—1118.

Modood, the son of Musaood was at Balkh, watching the movements of the Seljuks, when he heard of the assassination of his father, and hastened to Ghuzni, where he was saluted king. He then set out for Hindostan, and at Lughman encountered the forces of Mahomed and Ahmed, who were defeated and slain. The Seljuks took advantage of these troubles to push their conquests, and having assembled at Nishapore, placed the crown upon the brows of their chief, Togrul Beg, and divided the country they had conquered, and that which they intended to occupy, into four parts; but Modood was able not only to maintain himself in Ghuzni, but to recover Transoxiana. Meanwhile, the king of Delhi took advantage of his absence, and, as the Mahomedan historian observes, "those, who like foxes, dared not creep from their holes, now put on the aspect of lions." A large army of Hindoos was assembled. Tha-

nesur, Hansi, and the Mahomedan possessions south of the Sutlege were recovered, and Nagarcote fell after a siege of four months. The idol which Mahmood demolished had been miraculously preserved—so at least it was announced—and was now discovered by the brahmins, and installed; the oracle was re-established, and the shrine was again enriched by the gifts of princes and people. All the other temples which had been subverted were restored, and recovered their sanctity. The Hindoos, flushed with success, thought themselves strong enough to expel the followers of the Prophet from the soil of India, and proceeded to lay seige to Lahore, but after beseiging it seven months, were driven back by a vigorous sally of the besieged. Modood expired at Ghuzni, after a reign of nine years, in 1049, and was succeeded by four monarchs in succession, whose insignificant reigns extended over nine years. Then came Ibrahim, in 1058, remarkable for his mildness and devotion, whose first act was to make peace with the Seljuks, and to confirm them in possession of all the territories they had usurped. He extended the fast of the Ramzan to three months; he attended religious lectures, and bore patiently with priestly rebukes; he gave away large sums in charity; he presented two copies of the Koran of his own beautiful penmanship to the Caliph, and then died, after a reign of forty years, leaving thirty-six sons and forty daughters. The reign of his son, Musaood the second, extended over sixteen years, and the throne descended on his death to his son Arslan, who immediately imprisoned all his brothers. One of their number, Byram, was, however, so fortunate as to escape to his maternal uncle, the Seljuk monarch, who marched against Arslan, and defeated him, placing Byram on the throne. But on the retirement of the Seljuk army, Arslan returned and expelled Byram, and was in turn displaced a second time by Sanjar, the Seljuk general, and soon after overtaken and put to death; Byram, finally ascended the throne in 1118.

Byram, the last

Byram governed the kingdom with great wisdom

King of Ghuzni, 1118. and moderation, and like all the monarchs of his line, extended a liberal patronage to men of learning. Towards the close of his reign, which reached thirty-five years, he was involved in a feud with the ruler of Ghore, which cost him his life and his crown. His family was expelled from Ghuzni, and the seat of his kingdom transferred to Lahore, which his son, Khusro, governed for seven years, and then bequeathed to his son, Khusro Malik, under whom all the provinces which had ever been held by the Mahomedans, east of the Indus, were recovered. His reign extended to twenty-seven years, when he was overpowered by Mahomed, of Ghore, in 1186, and with him the family of Subuktugeen became extinct, at the close of the usual cycle of 200 years.

The dynasty of Ghore. The dynasty of Ghore, which superseded that of Ghuzni, and rapidly extended its dominion from the Caspian Sea to the Ganges, was flattered by Mahomedan poets and historians with an ancient and honourable lineage, but the founder of the family was Eiz-ood-deen Hussein, a native of Afghanistan, of little note. He entered the service of Musaood, the king of Ghuzni, and rose in his favour, until he obtained the hand of his daughter, and with it the principality of Ghore. His son, Kootub-ood-deen, espoused the daughter of Byram, who put him to death in consequence of some family disputes. Seif-ood-deen, his brother, took up arms to revenge the murder, and captured Ghuzni, from which Byram retreated in haste. Seif-ood-deen, who had sent back the greater part of his army, failed to conciliate his new subjects, and Byram was encouraged to return. He succeeded in defeating and capturing his opponent, whom he put to death under every circumstance of ignominy. His brother, Alla-ood-deen, on hearing of this tragic event, marched with a numerous army to Ghuzni, thirsting to revenge the murder. A long and bloody battle was fought under the walls of the city, which ended in the utter rout of Byram's army, and his retreat to India, during the progress of which, fatigue and misfortune put an end to his life. Alla-ood-deen

entered Ghuzni, and gave up this city, then the noblest in Asia, to indiscriminate plunder for three, and, according to some historians, for seven days. The superb monuments of the kings of Ghuzni were destroyed, and the palaces of the nobles sacked, while the most distinguished and venerable men in the city were carried into captivity. Whatever provocation Alla-ood-deen may have received in the murder of his brother, the savage vengeance wreaked on this magnificent capital, has fixed an indelible stain on his memory, and led the historians to stigmatize him as the "incendiary of the world."

Alla-ood-deen Ghory, 1152.

Alla-ood-deen, after having satiated his fury at Ghuzni, returned to his capital at Ferozekhoh, but was immediately summoned by Sultan Sanjar to make good the tribute which had been usually paid by his predecessor, Byram. The demand was refused, and the Seljuk Sanjar immediately marched to Ghuzni, and defeated and captured Alla-ood-deen. But on hearing that his own lieutenant in Kharism had revolted, and invited the Khitans, a Tartar horde, who had been driven from the north of China, to assist him, Sanjar replaced Alla-ood-deen on the Ghuzni throne, and marched against this new enemy, by whom he was defeated. He was enabled, however, to recover his strength, but was brought into collision with another tribe of Tartars, generally called the Euz, and though he assembled 100,000 men in the field was totally routed, and made prisoner. He died in the course of three years, in 1156, and with him ended the power which the Seljuks had been a century in building up. Alla-ood-deen died in the same year, and was succeeded by his son, an amiable but inexperienced youth, who was killed in the course of the year by one of his own nobles, when his cousin, Gheias-ood-deen, mounted the throne, and associated his own brother, Shahab-ood-deen, known in history as the renowned Mahomed Ghory, with him in the government. It is a most singular circumstance that in that age of violence, when the

Shahab-ood-deen, 1157.

love of power overcame all natural affections, and instigated men to the murder of fathers, and brothers, and kindred, Mahomed should have continued faithful in allegiance to his feeble brother for twenty-nine years. It was he who established the second Mahomedan dynasty at Delhi, generally known as the house of Ghore.

State of the Hindoo princes, in 1191.

Mahomed Ghory was the real founder of Mahomedan power in India; and it may therefore be of service to glance at the condition of the Hindoo thrones in the north, immediately on the eve of their extinction. The king of Cunouj, of the Korah family, had been compelled to make his submission, as already stated, to Mahmood of Ghuzni, which excited the indignation of the neighbouring Hindoo princes, who expelled him from the throne, and put him to death. The kingdom was then occupied by the Rathore tribe of the Rajpoots, and five princes of that line had governed it, when it was finally absorbed by the Mahomedans. The kings of Benares, who bore the patronymic of Pal, and professed the Boodhist religion, attained great power, and one of them is said to have extended his conquests to Orissa. The family, however, became extinct before the invasion of Mahomed Ghory, when the king of Bengal seized Gour and Behar, and the king of Cunouj, the western districts of Benares, which greatly increased his power and his arrogance. In the west, the kingdom of Guzerat was governed by the family of Bhagilas, who were generally found in alliance with the kingdom of Cunouj. Ajmere, then a powerful monarchy, was governed by the Chohans, and always sided with the sovereigns of Delhi, of the Tuar dynasty. The last king of this line having no son adopted his grandson, Prithiraj, the offspring of his daughter, who was married to the king of Ajmere. The king of Cunouj refused to acknowledge the superiority which had been conceded to the kings of Delhi; and they were engaged in incessant warfare. Thus, at the period when Mahomed Ghory was preparing to extirpate the Hindoo power in the north of

India, its princes, instead of combining against the common foe, were engaged in mutual hostilities, or alienated from each other by family jealousies. Hindostan was divided into two irreconcilable parties—the one comprising Guzerat and Cunouj, the other Delhi, the Chohan of Ajmere, and the Hindoo raja of Chittore. It is asserted by some native authors that Jeychunder, the king of Cunouj, impelled by hatred of the young king of Delhi, invited Mahomed Ghory to invade India, but the evidence of this act of treason is doubtful, and the Mahomedan prince required no prompting to an enterprize of such large promise. But it is certain that the king of Cunouj assumed the arrogant title of lord paramount of India, and resolved to support his pretensions by celebrating the magnificent sacrifice of the horse. The other princes of the north hastened to pay their homage to him, but Prithiraj, the king of Delhi, supported by the raja of Chittore, refused to acknowledge the claim of superiority put forward by his rival. In this gorgeous ceremony it is required that every office, however menial, shall be performed by royal hands. As the king of Delhi refused to appear, an effigy of gold was made to supply his place, and planted at the entrance of the hall, to represent him in the capacity of the porter. In such acts of folly were the Hindoo princes in the north wasting their time and their energies, while the Mahomedan was thundering at their door.

Bhoje Raja.

On the threshhold of the great revolution produced by this invasion, we pause for a moment to record the civil virtues of Bhoje Raja, the last of the really great Hindoo sovereigns of Hindostan. He was of the race of the Prumuras, who still continued to reign, though with diminished splendour, at Oojein and at Dhar. Seated on the throne of Vikrumadityu, he determined to revive the literary glory of his court, and to render his own reign illustrious by the encouragement of literature. While the silly king of Cunouj was engaged in celebrating the sacrifice of the horse, and the princes of the north were hastening to that imperial

pageant, the learned were crowding to the court of Bhoje, by whom they were entertained with royal hospitality. His memory is consecrated in the recollections of posterity, and his reign has been immortalized by the genius of poetry. His name is as familiar to men of the present age as that of Ramu and Yoodistheer; yet few recognise the fact that he reigned only seven centuries ago, and that he was the last Hindoo sovereign who had the wish as well as the power to patronise letters.

Mahomed defeated, 1191. Mahomed now turned his attention to foreign conquest with all the vigour of a new dynasty. Having reduced the greater part of Khorasan to subjection, he led several expeditions to India, and at length defeated Khusro Malik, the Ghuzni prince of Lahore and Mooltan, and annexed those provinces to the empire of Ghore, thus extinguishing the Ghuznavede dynasty, and paving the way for the subversion of Hindoo power in Hindostan. At this period there was little trace left of the early Mahomedan invasions. The ravages committed by Mahmood had been repaired; population was renewed, and prosperity revived; the country was again filled with wealth and idols, and the Hindoo princes were engaged, as they had been from time immemorial, in fighting with each other. But the year 1193 brought with it a tempest of desolation which swept away the Hindoo monarchies and institutions, planted the standard of the crescent on the battlements of Delhi, and extended its triumphs throughout Hindostan. Prithiraj, the heroic but unthinking king of Delhi, had wasted his strength in a vain struggle with the house of Cunouj, and only 64 out of 108 of his military chiefs had survived it. But he still was able to bring 200,000 horse into the field, and a battle was fought at Tirouri, fourteen miles from Thanesur, on the great plain where most of the contests for the possession of India were subsequently decided. After performing prodigies of valour Mahomed found both the wings of his army give way, and was obliged to fly. He was pursued for forty miles by the victorious Hindoos, and was happy

to escape across the Indus with the wreck of his army. Though he appeared outwardly to forget his disgrace, it was silently preying on his mind; and he stated in one of his letters that he "neither slumbered at ease, nor waked but in sorrow and anxiety."

Defeat of the king of Delhi, 1193.

Having in the course of two years recruited his army with Tartars, Turks, and Afghans, he moved again over the Indus, and entered Hindostan. A hundred and fifty chiefs rallied around the king of Delhi, who was enabled, on the lowest calculation, to bring 300,000 horse, 3,000 elephants, and a vast body of infantry into the field. The allied sovereigns, inflated with an idea of their superiority, sent Mahomed a lofty message, granting him their permission to retire without injury. He replied, with great apparent humility, that he was merely his brother's lieutenant, to whom he would refer their message. The Hindoos misinterpreted this answer to denote weakness, and spent the night in revelry. The Caggar flowed between the armies. Mahomed crossed his army during the night, and fell upon the Hindoos before they had recovered from their debauch. But in spite of the confusion which ensued, so vast was their host that they still had time to fall into their ranks; and Mahomed, reduced again to difficulty, sounded a retreat. The Hindoos were, as he expected, thrown into disorder in the pursuit, when he charged them with his reserve; and as the historian observes, "this prodigious army once shaken, like a great building tottered to its fall, and was lost in its own ruins." The gallant raja of Chittore, Somarsi, fell nobly fighting at the head of his Rajpoots; and the king of Delhi, who was taken prisoner, was butchered in cold blood. Mahomed then proceeded against Ajmere, and captured the town, and put several thousands of the inhabitants to the sword.

Progress of Kootub, 1194.

Mahomed returned to Ghuzni laden with plunder, and Kootub-ood-deen, a slave who had gained his confidence by the display of great talents both as a

general and as a statesmen, was left in charge of his conquests. He followed out his master's plans, by the capture of Meerut and Coel, and eventually of Delhi which was now, for the first time, made the seat of the Mahomedan government of India. The kings of Cunouj and Guzerat, who had looked on with malicious delight while the Mahomedan smote down their Hindoo opponents, had no long respite themselves, Mahomed returned the next year to India with a still larger force, and a battle was fought at a place between Chundwar and Etawah, in which Jey-chunder, the king of Cunouj, was totally defeated, and perished, and the oldest Hindoo monarchy in the north was finally subverted. This reverse induced the whole tribe of the Rathores to emigrate in a body to Rajpootana, where they established the kingdom of Marwar or Joudhpore, which still continues to exist. Mahomed then advanced against Benares, which was captured with ease, and demolished 1,000 temples. And thus, in the short space of four years, was the Hindoo power in Hindostan completely and irrevocably extinguished.

Conquest of Behar and Bengal, 1203.

Kootub lost no time in despatching one of his slaves, Bukhtiyar Ghiljie, who had risen to command by his native genius, to conquer Behar. The capital was sacked and the country subdued, and the army returned within two years to Delhi, bending beneath the weight of its plunder. An attempt was soon after made to supplant Bukhtiyar in his master's favour, but it was defeated by the prowess he exhibited in single combat with a lion, which his enemies at court had forced on him. This event established him still more firmly in the confidence of Kootub, who sent him in 1203 to reduce Bengal. That kingdom had for a long period been under the government of a dynasty of Vidyus, of the medical caste, who established an era which continued in vogue in the province till it was abolished by Akbar, two centuries and a half ago. The throne was then filled by Lucksmun Sen, who had been placed on it in his infancy, and had now attained the age of eighty. His long

reign was distinguished by his liberality, clemency and justice. His court was usually held at Nuddea, though he occasionally resided at Gour, or Lucknoutee. On the approach of the Mahomedans, he was advised by his brahmins, in accordance, as they said, with the instructions of their sacred books, to retire to some remote province. He refused to follow their advice, but he made no preparation for the emergency, and allowed himself to be surprised at a meal by Bukhtiyar, who rushed into his palace with a handful of troops. The king contrived to escape through a back gate to his boats, and did not pause until he had reached Jugunnath, in Orissa. It is worthy of remark, that while the king of Delhi offered an honourable resistance to the Mahomedans, and the king of Cunouj fell bravely defending his liberty, and Chittore made the most heroic struggle, Bengal fell without even an effort for its independence. The whole kingdom was conquered within a single year, and submitted patiently to the rule of the Mahomedan for five centuries and a half, till he was supplanted by the Christian. Bukhtiyar delivered up the city of Nuddea to plunder, and then proceeded to Gour, which offered no defence. The Hindoo temples were demolished, and Mahomedan mosques, palaces, and caravanseras built with the materials. After the conquest of Bengal, Bukhtiyar marched with a large army to Bootan and Assam, but was signally defeated by those brave highlanders, and driven back to Bengal, where he died of chagrin, three years after he had entered the province.

Mahomed's death, 1206. During these transactions, Mahomed was engaged in ambitious expeditions in the west. The empire of the Seljuks having fallen to pieces, he was anxious to come in for a share of it. Of the new kingdoms which had arisen upon its ruins, that of Kharism, on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, had attained great power under Takash, against whom Mahomed now led his forces, but experienced a signal defeat, and was obliged to purchase a retreat by a heavy ransom. On his return to his own do-

minions, he resolved to punish the Gukkers for their incessant rebellions, and not only brought them under subjection, but is said to have constrained them to embrace the creed of the Prophet; but on his way back to Ghuzni, he was assassinated by two of the tribe as he was reposing in his tent, in the year 1206. He governed the kingdom in his brother's name for forty-five years, and was king in his own right for only three. In the course of ten years, he completely demolished the Hindoo power from the banks of the Sutlege to the bay of Bengal, and at the period of his death, the whole of Hindostan, with the exception of Malwa, was under a settled and permanent Mahomedan government. The treasure he left, the fruit of nine expeditions to India, is stated at a sum which appears incredible, particularly when it is said to have included five mauns of diamonds.

Kootub-ood-deen, 1206. Mahomed, who was childless, was in the habit of training up the most promising of his slaves, and raising them according to their merit, to posts of dignity and power. His nephew, Mahmood, who was in possession of Ghore, was indeed proclaimed king throughout all the provinces on both sides the Indus, but the kingdom was soon broken up into separate states. Of the slaves of the deceased monarch, Eldoze, the governor of Ghuzni, seized on Cabul and Candahar, while Kootub retained the sovereignty of Hindostan. Eldoze, who affected still to consider India a dependency of Ghuzni, marched against him, but was defeated at Lahore. Kootub followed up the victory and recovered Ghuzni, where he assumed the crown, but was soon after expelled by his rival, and driven back to India, with which, after this reverse, he determined to remain content. The establishment of the Mahomedan empire in India is, therefore, considered to date from this event, in the year, 1206. Kootub was the first of those Turki slaves who rose to sovereignty, and furnished a succession of rulers to India. Meanwhile, Takash, the great monarch of Kharism, having overrun Persia, marched against Eldoze and extinguished his brief reign, as well as that of

Mahmood of Ghore, and annexed all the provinces west of the Indus to his possessions. Kootub did not enjoy his Indian sovereignty more than four years, when he was succeeded by his son, Aram, who was displaced within a twelvemonth by Altumsh, the slave and the son-in-law of Kootub, in 1211. He justified the preference of his master during a long reign of twenty-five years.

Jenghis Khan.

It was in the tenth year of his reign that Jelal-ood-deen, the king of Kharism, was driven to seek shelter in India by the irruption of Jenghis Khan, the greatest conqueror of that age, and the original founder of Mogul greatness. The Moguls were a tribe of Tartars, who roamed with their flocks and herds on the northern side of the great wall of China, without any fixed abode. When their numbers increased beyond the means of subsistence they poured down on the fertile provinces of the south. The father of Jenghis Khan presided over thirteen of these nomadic tribes, whose number did not exceed 40,000. At the age of forty, Jenghis Khan had established his power over ali the Tartar tribes, and at a general convention held about the year 1210, was acknowleged the great Khan of the Moguls by the shepherd hordes from the wall of China to the Volga. He had received no education, and was unable either to read or write; but a natural genius for conquest, and the fiery valour and insatiable cupidity of his followers, raised him to the summit of human power. The Moguls burst with impetuosity on China, overleaped the barriers which the Chinese monarchs had erected to exclude them; and after storming ninety cities compelled the emperor to cede the northern provinces to them and retire to the south of the Yellow river. In the west, the progress of Jenghis Khan brought him into collision with Mahomed, the great sultan of Kharism, who held in contempt the shepherd soldiers of Tartary, with no wealth but their flocks and their swords—and no cities but their tents. He put three of Jenghis Khan's ambassadors to death, and refused all redress, and the Mogul poured down on his dominions

with an army of 700,000 men. Mahomed met him with 400,000 troops, but was defeated and obliged to fly, leaving, it is said, 160,000 of them dead on the field. Mahomed then distributed his soldiers among his various cities in the hope of impeding the career of the enemy; but the cities fell to him rapidly, and the magnificent monarch of Kharism, recently the most powerful in Asia, died without an attendant in a barren island of the Caspian Sea. From that sea to the Indus, more than 1,000 miles in extent, the whole country was laid waste with fire and sword by these ruthless barbarians. It was the greatest calamity which had befallen the human race since the deluge, and five centuries have barely been sufficient to repair that desolation. The son of Mahomed, the heroic Jelal-ood-deen, continued to fight the Moguls at every stage, but nothing could arrest their progress. He encountered them for the last time on the banks of the Indus, when his whole army perished, and he sprung with his horse into the stream, attended by only a few followers, and sought an asylum from Altumsh; but that prince was too prudent to provoke the vengeance of the man who had made himself the scourge of Asia, and Jelal-ood-deen was obliged to seek some other refuge. After a variety of adventures he was killed about ten years after in Mesopotamia. The victorious and destructive career of the Moguls does not belong to the history of India, the soil of which they did not then invade. But Jenghis Khan effected a complete revolution in the policy and destinies of Central Asia, and gave a predominant influence to the Moguls, who, after the lapse of three centuries, were led across the Indus, under the auspices of Baber, and eventually established on the throne of India.

Altumsh, 1236.

The emperor Altumsh was employed for several years in subduing his own insubordinate viceroys, and subjugating those provinces of Hindostan which still maintained some show of independence. He reduced the fortress of Rintambore in Rajpootana, captured Gwalior and Mandoo, and then proceeded against Oojein, the capital of Malwa, one of

the sacred cities of the Hindoos, where he destroyed the magnificent temple of Muha Kal, erected 1,200 years before by Vikrumadityu, sending the images to Deihi to be broken up at the entrance of the great mosque. He died in 1,236, and was succeeded by his son; but he was deposed for his vices within six months by the nobles, who raised his sister Sultana Rezia to the throne. This celebrated princess, endowed, according to the historian, with every royal virtue, governed the empire for a time with the greatest ability and success. She appeared daily on the throne in the habit of a sultan, gave audience to all comers, and set herself vigorously to the revision of the laws, and the reformation of abuses; but she exalted to the highest dignity in the empire an Abyssinian slave to whom she had become partial, and her jealous nobles took up arms against her. She fought them in two severe battles, but was defeated, captured, and put to death, after a brief reign of three years and a-half. The two succeeding reigns occupied only six years when Nazir-ood-deen, a grandson of Altumsh mounted the throne. Bulbun, a Turki slave, and the son-in-law of Altumsh was appointed his chief minister, and proved to be one of the ablest statesman of his time. Under his administration the government was strengthened by the more complete reduction of the Hindoo chiefs; and his nephew, Shere Khan, who was charged with the defence of the Indus against the Moguls, succeeded likewise in re-annexing the province of Ghuzni to the throne of Delhi. Bulbun was for a time supplanted in his office of vizier by an unworthy favourite of the emperor; but the disasters which followed his dismissal, and the remonstrances of the nobles, constrained his master to reinstate him. In the tenth year of this reign an embassy arrived from Hulakoo, the grandson of Jenghis Khan, before whom Asia trembled; and it was resolved to make every exertion to give his envoy the most honourable reception. The vizier himself went out to meet him with 50,000 horse and 200,000 infantry, 2,000 war elephants, and 3,000 car-

Nazir-ood-deen, 1246.

riages of fireworks. By this noble escort he was conducted to the durbar of the emperor, around whose throne stood twenty-five of the princes who had been expelled from their hereditary seats by the Moguls, and obtained an asylum at Delhi. Nazir-ood-deen's private life was that of a hermit; his personal expenses were defrayed from the sale of the books which he transcribed; his fare, which was of the simplest character, was prepared by his wife, who was his sole female companion. He died without leaving any son, and was succeeded by his minister Bulbun.

Bulbun, 1266.

This prince was equally renowned for his justice and generosity and for the vigour of his administration, though his cruelty on certain occasions has induced some of the historians to represent him as a monster. He continued the hospitality which his predecessor had shown to the dethroned princes of Tartary, Transoxiana, Khorasan, Persia, Irak, and other provinces, placed the royal palaces at their disposal, and granted them the most liberal allowances. These princes were accompanied by the accomplished scholars who had been assembled around them, and the court of Bulbun was thus considered the most polite and magnificent in Asia. He banished all usurers, players, and buffoons from its precincts, and set an example of the severest frugality and temperance. At the same time he endeavoured to curb the insolence of the royal slaves who had begun to arrogate great power; but he made it a rule to give no promotion to any Hindoo. He was advised to reconquer Malwa and Guzerat which had revolted, but wisely replied that the portentous cloud of Moguls, ever hanging over his northern frontier, demanded his undivided attention. He resolved, however, to inflict a severe retribution on Togrul Khan, the viceroy of the opulent province of Bengal, who had omitted to remit the plunder recently acquired from a rebel chief, and on hearing of his master's illness, had raised the red umbrella, and assumed the title of king. Two armies were sent in succession against him and defeated, and Bulbun took the field in person.

The refractory governor fled to Orissa, and was pursued by the Imperial troops. Mullik, one of the emperor's generals, advanced to the camp of the enemy with only forty followers, and rushing into Togrul Khan's tent shouted "Victory to king Bulbun," cutting down all who opposed him. The viceroy, imagining that the whole of the imperial army was upon him, took to flight, and his army was entirely dispersed. Bulbun made an ill use of his victory, by putting to death every member of the rebel's family, even to the women and children. During these transactions the Moguls again burst on Hindostan; and Mahomed, the accomplished son of the emperor, who had collected around him the men most celebrated in Asia for learning and genius, marched to oppose them. The Moguls dispersed after a long and sanguinary action. Mahomed pursued them with imprudent haste and, on his return was unexpectedly enveloped by a body of their cavalry, superior in number to his own followers, and fell in the combat. With him perished the hopes of the dynasty. The army and the empire was equally filled with lamentation, for he was the idol of both; and his father, then in his eightieth year, soon after died of a broken heart.

End of the dynasty, 1288.

The son of the deceased prince was appointed to succeed him, but was speedily superseded by Kei-kobad, another of Bulbun's grandchildren, and the son of Kurrah, who had been appointed governor of Bengal after its reconquest. He was a youth of eighteen, addicted only to pleasure, and the slave of a profligate minister, who endeavoured to pave his own way to the throne by encouraging him in every vice. Kurrah, aware of the dangers which surrounded his son, succeeded, after great difficulty, in extorting his consent to an interview; but the minister imposed so many humiliating ceremonies an him as he approached the royal presence that he burst into tears. The son was overpowered by this sight, and leaping from the throne threw himself at his father's feet. Many happy meetings took place between them during a period of twenty days, when Kurrah, after giving his

son the most salutary advice, returned to his own government. But the youth again abandoned himself to indulgence on his return to the capital, and it terminated in palsy. Then came a scramble for power between the Tartar mercenaries around the throne, and the Afghan mountaineers of Ghuzni and Ghore denominated the Ghiljies. The Tartars were cut to pieces: Kei-kobad was killed in his bed, and the Ghiljie chief, Feroze mounted the throne at the age of seventy, taking the title of Jelal-ood-deen. Thus closed the dynasty which has been denominated that of the slaves, which commenced with the slave Kootub, in 1206, and terminated in 1288, within three years of the death of the slave Bulbun.

Feroze, 1288.

The period of thirty-three years, during which the Ghiljie family occupied the throne of Delhi, was rendered memorable in the history of India, by the subjugation of the Deccan to the Mahomedan arms. Feroze, on mounting the throne, put to death the infant son of the late king, whose cause had been espoused by the opposite faction; but this was the only act of cruelty during his reign, which was, on the contrary, marked by a very impolitic lenity, which seemed to multiply crime, and to weaken the authority of government. In the fifth year of his reign, in the year 1294, a century after the battle of Thanesur, which gave the final blow to Hindoo power in Hindostan, his nephew, Alla-ood-deen, a man of great energy and violent ambition, but without a conscience, carried his arms across the Nerbudda, and paved the way for the conquest of the Deccan. He had been appointed to the government of Oude and Korah, and was successful in subduing some refractory chieftains in Bundlecund and Malwa, which led him to project a marauding expedition to the south. He collected an army of 8,000 men, and swept across the Nerbudda with a degree of rapidity, which confounded the native princes, and suddenly presented himself before Deogur, the Tagara of the Roman writers, the Dowlutabad of modern history. The raja, living in the security of perfect peace,

Expedition to the Deccan 1294.

was ill prepared for resistance, but he contrived to assemble a respectable force, which was, however, signally defeated. The town was captured and given up to pillage, but the raja shut himself up in the citadel, which was considered impregnable. Alla-ood-deen spread a report that his force was only the advanced guard of a vast Mahomedan army advancing from Delhi, and the raja, from whom all his Hindoo neighbours held aloof, was so alarmed at the prospect before him, that he sent proposals of peace, with the offer of a large ransom. During the negotiation, his son advanced with an army to his relief, but was defeated, and the terms of the ransom were raised. Some idea of the immense wealth which Alla-ood-deen obtained, may be formed from the assertion, that the jewels were counted by mauns, even though the maun may have been of a lower denomination. From this daring exploit Alla-ood-deen returned on the twenty-fifth day, passing through various and hostile provinces without molestation, from which we gather that the same fatal want of political unity which had paved the way for the conquest of the north, existed also in the Deccan. It was this expedition which exposed the wealth and the weakness of the Hindoo princes of the south to the Mahomedans, and opened the door of plunder and conquest.

Accession of Alla-ood-deen, 1295.

Feroze was delighted to learn that his nephew, who had suddenly disappeared, was returned covered with glory, and laden with wealth. The latter he already reckoned his own, but his wary courtiers suspected that the victor had other views than those of submission, and advised the emperor to adopt measures for his own security; but the generous prince resolved to repose confidence in the fidelity of his nephew, and was insiduously encouraged to advance and meet him. Alla-ood-deen fell at his feet, and the affectionate old man was patting him on the cheek, when the assassins, who had been posted in ambush, rushed in and despatched him. His reign extended to seven years. Alla-ood-deen hastened to Delhi and ascended the

throne, and endeavoured to divert the people from the odious crime to which he owed his elevation, by the exhibition of games and amusements. He was unable to read or write when he became king, but applied to letters with such assiduity, as to become a good Persian scholar; after which, he surrounded himself with learned men, and took great pleasure in their society. His government was stern and inflexible, but admirably suited to the exigencies of the time. The insurrections which broke out in various provinces immediately on his accession, were quelled by his promptitude and energy; and his reign, which was prolonged to twenty-one years, was constantly occupied in efforts to repel the Moguls in the north, and to subjugate the Hindoos in the south.

Conquest of Guzerat, 1297.

Two years after he had mounted the throne, he dispatched an army to Guzerat, where the raja had resumed his independence. The country had recovered from the effect of previous invasions, and was again smiling with prosperity, but this new torrent of destruction swept away every vestige of improvement, and the Hindoo power sunk to rise no more. The magnificent city of Puttun, with its marble edifices, built from the quarries of Ajmere, was completely destroyed. The images of its opulent shrines were destroyed, and a Mahomedan mosque erected in front of the principal temple. Among the prizes of this campaign the historians particularly note Kowla Devee, the wife of the king, a woman of unrivalled beauty, who was transferred to Alla-ood-deen's seraglio, and Kafoor, a handsome slave, who rose to distinction at court, and eventually became the scourge of the Deccan. The expedition to Guzerat was no sooner completed, than the attention of the emperor was distracted by another Mogul invasion.

Mogul invasion, 1298.

Two hundred thousand horsemen, under Kutlugh Khan, crossed the Indus, and marched down upon Delhi. The wretched inhabitants were driven before them like sheep into the city, and famine began to stare that vast multitude

in the face. The emperor marched out at the head of his troops, and the native historian affirms, that on no former occasion had so great a multitude of human beings been collected together in India in one place. The Indian troops won the day, chiefly through the exertions of Zuffer Khan, the most distinguished of the emperor's generals. But in the pursuit of the enemy he was carried away by his impetuosity; the emperor's brother who was jealous of his increasing power withheld all succour from him, and he was cut to pieces after having performed prodigies of valour. His ungenerous master who dreaded his genius, did not hesitate to say, that his death was as fortunate a circumstance as the defeat of the Moguls.

Capture of Chittore, 1303.

In the year 1303, Alla-ood-deen attacked the fortress of Chittore, the seat of the Rajpoot family, which now reigns at Oodypore. The siege was pushed with great vigour, and when all further defence appeared hopeless, a large funeral pile was kindled in the fort, into which the queen, Pudmanee, a woman of exquisite beauty, and the females of the noblest families, threw themselves. After this fearful sacrifice, the gates were thrown open, and the raja, with his faithful followers, rushed on the weapons of the enemy, and obtained the death they sought. The emperor destroyed all the temples and palaces which had adorned the city, but spared the residence of the king and queen. From these transactions he was recalled by another invasion of the Moguls, who extended their ravages up to the gates of Delhi, and retired in consequence, it was said, of a panic created among them by the prayers of a saint. These invasions were renewed in 1305 and 1306, but the Moguls were defeated in both expeditions. To make an example of them, the emperor ordered the heads of all the male prisoners to be struck off, and a pillar to be constructed of them at Delhi, and the women and children to be sold into slavery. After this event, there was but one farther irruption of these tribes during the reign.

Invasion of the Deccan, 1306.

The first expedition to the Deccan in this reign in 1303 was interrupted by the invasion of the Moguls; and the generals who were left to conduct it, when the emperor was recalled, were unsuccessful. Another army was assembled in 1306, under the command of Kafoor, once the slave, but now the favourite general of his master, and sent to chastise the raja of Deogur, who had neglected to pay up his tribute. It was in this expedition that Kafoor subdued the Mahrattas, whose name now appears for the first time in history. Ram-deva, the king of Deogur, made his submission, and proceeded to Delhi to wait on the emperor, when he was restored to power. Kafoor, likewise, recovered Dewal Devee, the daughter whom the empress had borne to her former husband, and who had inherited all her mother's beauty. After a long pursuit she was overtaken near the caves of Ellora—and this is the earliest notice of them—and on her arrival at Delhi became the bride of the emperor's son; at so early a period do we find intermarriages between the Hindoos and the Mahomedans. An expedition sent from Bengal along the coast to Warungole, which was for nearly two centuries the capital of Telingana, having failed, Kafoor was sent against it in 1309. He ravaged the northern provinces, obtained a great victory, and took the fort after a seige of some months. The raja was condemned to pay tribute, and Kafoor returned to Delhi.

Farther Deccan expedition, 1310.

The next year he was sent with a large army to the Deccan to reduce the raja of the Carnatic, of the Bellal family. After a march of three months he reached the capital of Dwar Sumooder—literally the gate of the ocean—which has been identified with the modern town of Hallabee, a hundred miles north-west of Seringapatam. Bellal Deb fought a great battle, but was defeated and made prisoner, and with him terminated the Bellal dynasty of the Deccan. The capital was captured and neglected; and, ceasing to be the abode of royalty, dwindled down, like other regal seats, into a hamlet. Kafoor does not appear to have

proceeded farther down on the western or Malabar coast; but he overrun the whole of the eastern provinces on the Coromandel coast, to the extreme limit of the Peninsula; and at Ramisseram, opposite Ceylon, erected a mosque, as a memorial of his victories. He returned to Delhi, in 1311, laden with the plunder of the Deccan; the value of which has been calculated by "sober" historians at 100 crores of rupees. The emperor made a liberal distribution of this wealth, but his generosity was forgotten in the barbarous massacre of 15,000 of the converted Moguls who had manifested a disposition to revolt on being capriciously dismissed from his service. In the year 1312, Kafoor was again sent into the Deccan to coerce the son of Ram-deva, the raja of Deogur, who had succeeded his father, and "withdrawn his neck from the yoke of obedience." He put the raja to death, annexed his kingdom to the throne of Delhi, and carried his arms over the whole of the Carnata and Mahratta territories.

Extinction of the Ghiljie dynasty, 1321.

Towards the latter period of his reign Alla-ooddeen gave himself up to indulgence, which enfeebled both his mind and his body; but the vigour which he had infused into the government still continued to animate it. At length his infatuated attachment to Kafoor, whose baseness was equal to his talents, created general discontent. It was at the instigation of this wretch that he imprisoned his queen, and his two elder sons. Rebellions broke out in rapid succession in the countries he had conquered. Hamir, the renowned Rajpoot chieftain, recovered Chittore; the son-in-law of Ram-deva raised a revolt in the Deccan; Guzerat was for a time in a state of insurrection, and the emperor sunk into the grave amidst these dark clouds, not without the suspicion of poison. It was during his reign that the Mahomedan arms were first carried to Cape Comorin, and the authority of the emperor for a time predominated through the length of India; but the more southern conquests were transient. Though he was often capricious, and sometimes cruel, his rule was energetic and beneficial; the in-

cessant wars of the Hindoo princes with each other were suppressed by his sovereignty, and a general feeling of security gave prosperity and wealth to the country, and magnificent buildings rose in every direction. Alla-ood-deen had thoughts at one time of setting up for a prophet, but he gave up the project, and contented himself with assuming the title of a second Alexander on his coins. Kafoor produced a pretended will of his patron, appointing his youngest son his successor, and himself regent. Then began the usual destruction of the royal family in the struggle for power. Cafoor put out the eyes of the two eldest sons. The officers of the court in a few days caused Cafoor himself to be assassinated, and placed the third son, Mobarik, on the throne, who immediately put to death the instruments of his elevation, and extinguished the sight of his youngest brother. On the other hand he released 17,000 prisoners, restored lands which had been unjustly confiscated, and repealed oppressive taxes. He put himself at the head of his army, and by an act of vigour reduced Guzerat, and captured the insurgent son-in-law of Ram-deva, whom he caused to be flayed alive. But on his return to the capital he gave himself up to the most degrading debaucheries, while his favourite Khusro, a converted Hindoo, was sent to ravage the maritime province of Malabar which Kafoor had left untouched, though by some the expedition is supposed to have extended only to the province of Coorg. Khusro returned to Delhi with abundance of treasure, assassinated his master, and usurped the throne. To secure the possession of it, he proceeded to put every surviving member of the royal family to death; but Ghazee Toghluk, the governor of the Punjab, soon after marched on Delhi, with the veteran troops of the frontier province, disciplined by constant conflicts with the Moguls, and put an end to the reign and life of the monster.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF TOGHLUK TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MOGULS, 1321—1526.

Ghazee Toghluk, 1321.

GHAZEE TOGHLUK, after this victory, was anxious to place some scion of the royal line on the throne, but it was found that the family of Alla-ood-deen had been utterly exterminated during the recent convulsions, and he was compelled to yield to the wishes of the nobles and the people, and accept the supreme dignity for himself. His father was originally a slave of the emperor Bulbun, who rose through various offices to the government of Mooltan, which devolved on his son at his death. The administration of the empire in his hands was as commendable as the acquisition of it had been blameless. His son, Jonah Khan, was sent against the king of Telingana, but was completely baffled, and brought back only 3,000 of his troops to Delhi. But a second expedition which he undertook in 1323 was more successful, and resulted in the capture of the capital, Warungole, and the extinction of the Hindoo dynasty, which had flourished for two centuries and a half. Complaints were at this time carried up to the throne of oppressions in Bengal. That province had been under the government of the noble Kurrah, the son of the emperor Bulbun, for forty years, during which period he had witnessed the rise and fall of an entire dynasty, consisting of four sovereigns. The charges against him proved to be groundless; the emperor confirmed him in his government, and the native historian illustrates the mutations of fortune by remarking, that it was the slave of the father who accorded the use of the royal umbrella to the son. On his return to the capital, the emperor was entertained at Afghanpore by his son Jonah Khan, in a magnificent pavilion which he had erected for the occasion; but the son had

no sooner retired from the edifice than it fell and crushed the father to death.

Mahomed Toghluk, 1325. Jonah Khan ascended the throne in 1325, and assumed the title of Mahomed Toghluk. This prince, whose follies brought on the dismemberment of the empire, was a compound of the most contradictory qualities. He was the most accomplished prince of his day, skilled in every science, and learned even in the philosophy of the Greek schools, a liberal patron of learning, temperate, and even austere in his private life, and distinguished in the field by his courage and military talents. But all these noble qualities were neutralized by such perversity of disposition, and such paroxysms of tyranny, as made him the object of universal execration. It was the intoxication of absolute power which incited him to acts which none but a madman would have thought of. "So little," says the native historian, "did he hesitate to shed the blood of God's creatures, that when he took vengeance, it seemed as if he wished to exterminate the human family." The very first act of his reign was an enigma. The Moguls invaded the Punjab, under one of their most celebrated generals, and the emperor bought them off with a large subsidy, though he could not fail to perceive that this display of weakness would inevitably bring them back with a keener appetite for plunder. He then assembled a large army for the conquest of Persia, but, after consuming his resources, it was broken up for want of pay, and became the terror of his own subjects in every direction. Finding his treasury exhausted by his extravagant schemes, he determined to replenish it by levying contributions on the empire of China. A body of 100,000 men was accordingly sent across the snowy range, but it was attacked by a superior force on reaching the confines of that empire, and obliged to retire. Harassed in their retreat by the Chinese troops, and the exasperated mountaineers, and worn out by fatigue and privation, few of the unfortunate troops returned to tell the tale of their disgrace, and those who

survived the sword and famine were butchered by their own master. Having heard that the Chinese were in the habit of using a paper currency, he determined to adopt this mode of filling his coffers, only substituting copper tokens for paper. The insolvency of the treasury depreciated the value of the tokens, and foreign merchants refused to touch them. The mercantile transactions of the empire were thrown into confusion, and the universal misery and discontent which the measure entailed, constrained him to withdraw the tokens, but not before thousands had been ruined by them. So exorbitant were his exactions, that the husbandmen sought refuge in the woods, and were driven to robbery for a subsistence. The towns were deserted, and the inhabitants goaded into resistance by despair. The enraged emperor ordered out his army as if for a royal hunt, surrounded a large circle of territory, and drove the wretched people into the centre, where they were slaughtered like wild beasts. On a subsequent occasion, he ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants of Cunouj.

Continued follies of Mahomed, 1338.

In the year 1338 he took the field in person against his nephew, who had been driven to revolt in the Deccan. The young prince was captured and flayed alive. On reaching Deogur, Mahomed was so charmed with the beauty of its situation, and the mildness of the climate, that he resolved to make it the capital of his empire, and at the same time changed its name to Dowlutabad. With his usual fatuity, he ordered Delhi to be abandoned, and its inhabitants, men, women, and children, to travel to the new city, a distance of 800 miles, along a road which he caused to be planted with full-grown trees. This wild attempt to change the long established metropolis of the empire was for a time suspended in consequence of the intolerable misery it created. It was subsequently revived, but though Delhi was deserted, Dowlutabad did not prosper, and the project was eventually abandoned, after thousands of families had been ruined by it. At the same time, as if to

mock the calamities of his subjects, he caused a decayed tooth, which had been extracted, to be interred at Beer, and erected a magnificent mausoleum over it. At length he conceived the notion that the disasters of his reign arose from the fact of his not having received investiture from the Caliph, the successor of Mahomed. A splendid embassy was accordingly sent to Bagdad, and on its return with the firman, he ordered the names of all his predecessors who had not received the same honour, to be struck out of the royal calendar

Revolt of the provinces, 1340.

These caprices and oppressions produced the natural harvest of insurrections. The province of Bengal revolted in 1340, and it continued to be independent of the throne of Delhi for more than two centuries. Two Hindoo fugitives from Telingana, under a divine impulse, as the local historians affirm, and, under the guidance of a holy sage, proceeded to the banks of the Toombudra, and established a Hindoo kingdom, with Beejuynugur for its capital. The site of this city is supposed to correspond with that of the ancient capital of Hunooman and Soogrevu, who assisted Ramu in his expedition against Ravunu with their half savage subjects, and were described by the poet as the kings of the monkeys, and elevated by the piety of the brahmins to the rank of gods. About the same time a descendant of the royal house of Telingana established an independent principality at Golconda, and for two centuries after this period, we find these two Hindoo powers taking an active part in the politics of the Deccan, and maintaining a vigorous struggle with the power of the Mahomedans. A still more important revolution wrested all the remaining provinces south of the Nerbudda from the sceptre of Delhi. Of the foreign mercenaries from Tartary, Afghanistan, and other countries beyond the Indus, with whom the imperial armies were constantly recruited, a large body consisted of the Moguls, who had embraced the creed of Mahomed. A large colony of them was also settled in Guzerat, and they rose at this time to

avenge the wanton slaughter of seventy of their nobles. The emperor immediately proceeded against them, gave up the cities of Surat and Cambay to plunder, and ravaged the whole province as if it had been an enemy's country. The Guzerat Moguls obtained an asylum in the Deccan, where they were joined by all whom the atrocities of Mahomed had exasperated, and, having taken possession of Dowlutabad, proclaimed Ismael Khan, an Afghan, king. The emperor marched against them with great promptitude, inflicted a signal defeat on them, and shut them in that fortress. But, while engaged in besieging it, he was called away by a fresh conspiracy in Guzerat. The Moguls defeated his son-in-law, who had been left in command, and in conjunction with the governor of Malwa, who had likewise revolted from his master, succeeded in establishing a new monarchy in the Deccan, which is known in history as the Bahminy kingdom. In 1351, Mahomed proceeded against the prince of Tatta, in Sinde, who had given an asylum to the Guzerat insurgents. He halted within a few miles of that city to celebrate the Mohurrum, and surfeited himself with fish, which brought on a fever, of which he died in 1351. At the time of his death all the Mahomedan possessions in the Deccan, as well as the province of Bengal, had been alienated from the throne of Delhi.

Death of Mahomed, 1351.

Feroze Toghluk, 1351—1388.

Mahomed was succeeded by his nephew Feroze Toghluk, who endeavoured to recover Bengal, but seeing no chance of success, acknowledged the independence of Hajee, who had assumed the government, and wisely fixed the boundaries of the kingdom. Soon after, he consented to receive an envoy from the Bahminy king of the Deccan, and thus admitted the fact of his sovereignty. The reign of Feroze, though by no means brilliant, was marked by a wise administration. He discouraged luxury by his own example, repealed vexatious imposts, limited the number of capital punishments, and abolished torture and mutilation. But the erection of public works was his ruling passion,

and the historians of his day enumerate with exultation among the monuments which he left, fifty dams across rivers to promote irrigation, forty mosques, thirty colleges, twenty palaces, thirty reservoirs, five mausoleums, a hundred caravanseras, a hundred hospitals, a hundred public baths, a hundred and fifty bridges, and two hundred towns. The greatest achievement of his reign, however, was the canal from the source of the Ganges to the Sutlege, which still bears his name, and places him among the most renowned benefactors of mankind. After a reign of thirty-four years, he resigned the throne to his son, usually called Mahomed Toghluk the second, who gave himself up to indulgence, and was deposed by the nobles, when Feroze was constrained to resume the imperial power. But he was now in the ninetieth year of his age, and in 1388 transferred the sceptre to his grandson, Gheias. During the next ten years, the throne was occupied by no fewer than four princes. The court was filled with plots; two kings resided within the circuit of the capital, for three years, and waged incessant war with each other. Hindostan was thrown into a state of complete anarchy, and four independent kingdoms were carved out of the dominions of Delhi, leaving nothing to that august throne but the districts immediately around it.

Four independent kingdoms, 1395—1400.

The four independent kingdoms established about the close of the fourteenth century, upon the ruins of the imperial power, were those of Malwa, Guzerat, Candesh, and Jounpore. Dilawur Khan, of Ghore, the governor of Malwa, who raised the standard of independence, fixed his capital at the time-honoured city of Dhar, and subsequently removed it to Mandoo, fifteen miles to the north of the Nerbudda, the ramparts of which are said to have been thirty-seven miles in circumference. Mozuffer Khan, a Rajpoot converted to Mahomedanism, and like all converts, in India at least, a ruthless persecutor of his former creed, had been sent to Guzerat by one of the successors of Feroze to supersede the governor, who was

suspected of treachery. His independence may be said to date from the day of his accession to the government, as there was no power at Delhi to enforce his obedience. It was about the year 1398 that Nazir Khan, the viceroy of Candesh, which consists of the lower valley of the Taptee, threw off his allegiance, and espoused a daughter of the new king of Guzerat, to which more powerful state his little principality was generally considered subordinate. Still nearer, the capital, Khojah Jehan, the vizier of Mahomed Toghluk the third, and likewise viceroy of Jounpore, availed himself of the troubles of the times to assume the royal umbrella. The empire of Delhi, thus despoiled of its fairest provinces, fell an easy prey to the invader, who was now approaching it,—the most ferocious of any of those who have laid waste the plains of Hindostan.

Timur, 1398.

The Ameer Timur, or Tamerlane, was born within forty miles of Samarcand, and came of a Turki family, which had long been in the service of the descendants of Jenghis Khan. His lot was cast at a period in human affairs when the decay of vigour in the established kingdoms presented the fairest opportunity for the foundation of a new empire by any daring adventurer. Timur was possessed of the spirit suited to such an enterprise, and, having been raised at the age of thirty-four, to the throne of Samarcand by the general voice of his countrymen, in the course of a few years prostrated every throne that stood in the way of his progress, and became at once the scourge of Asia, and the terror of Europe. Animated by a stupendous ambition, he led the hordes of Tartary to the conquest of Persia, Khorasan and Transoxiana, and subjugated the whole of Mesopotamia and Georgia, and a portion of Russia and Siberia. Having made himself master of the whole of Central Asia, he despatched his grandson, Peer Mahomed, with a powerful army to invade India. The youth, however, encountered more opposition than was expected, and Timur found it necessary to advance to his support. He arrived on

the banks of the Indus on the 12th of September, 1398, with ninety-two squadrons of horse, and crossed it at Attock, where Alexander the Great had crossed it before him. His grandson soon after joined his camp, and the two armies marched to Bhutnere, but though the town was surrendered on terms, it was burnt to the ground, and the inhabitants were put to the sword. The villages and towns were deserted as he advanced, but a considerable number of prisoners necessarily remained in his hands, and as they were found greatly to encumber his march, he ordered them all to be massacred in cold blood, to the number of 100,000. A battle was soon after fought under the walls of Delhi, between the veterans of Timur and the effeminate soldiers of the empire, with the result which might have been expected. The emperor was defeated and fled to Guzerat, and Timur entered the city, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. His soldiers could not be restrained from their usual violence which brought on resistance, and the whole of the Mogul army was let loose on the devoted city. The scenes of horror which ensued defy all description. The citizens sold their lives dear, but their valour was quenched in their blood, and many streets were choked up with dead bodies. After Timur had satiated his revenge and satisfied his cupidity, by the desolation of the city, "he offered up to the divine Majesty," as his historian observes, "the sincere and humble tribute of grateful praise in the noble mosque of polished marble," erected by Feroze on the banks of the Jumna, and directed his army to prepare for its return. On his way back he ordered a general massacre in the city of Meerut, and then proceeding to Hurdwar, skirted the hills, and recrossed the Indus in March, 1399. He contented himself with the mere title of emperor of India, and left the country a prey to the distractions which his invasion had intensely aggravated.

Government of the Syuds, 1412—1450.

Mahomed Toghluk, the third, who had fled to Guzerat after his defeat, returned to Delhi on the departure of Timur, but his minister, Ekbal, mono-

polized all the power of the state. Khizir, the governor of Lahore and Mooltan, resenting this usurpation, attacked and slew him, and thus restored to Mahomed some portion of his authority which he exercised till 1412. On his death, Khizir marched a second time to Delhi, and extinguished the Toghluk dynasty. He was a descendant of the prophet, and his family, which filled the throne for thirty-six years, has from that circumstance, been denominated that of the Syuds. Khizir affected to decline the title of emperor, and styled himself the viceroy of Timur, in whose name he struck the coin, and caused the *Khootba* to be read in the mosques. His administration was beneficial, and prosperity began again to dawn on the desolated provinces. He added his own principality of the Punjab to the dominions of the imperial crown, but he made little progress in recovering the other districts which had become independent. His son, Mobarik, succeeded him in 1421, but his reign of thirteen years was marked by no event except an indecisive battle with the king of Jounpore. The territories subject to Delhi were as limited in extent at his death as they had been at his accession. He was assassinated by some Hindoos at the instigation of his vizier, who raised his son Syud Mahomed to the throne, but was himself cut off by the exasperated nobles. The youth was found to be totally unfit for the duties of government, and the governors of the few districts still attached to the throne, began to aspire to independence. Among these, was Beloli Lodi, an Afghan, who made himself master of Mooltan, and the greater part of the Punjab. Encouraged by the weakness of the throne, the king of Malwa marched to the capital, but was repulsed by Beloli, within two miles of its gates. That chief subsequently laid siege to the city which he had saved, but finding himself unable to capture it, withdrew to his own province, to await the demise of the crown, which occurred in 1445. Mahomed was succeeded by his son Alla-ood-deen, during whose weak reign the domains belonging to the throne were still farther reduced, till at length

they extended only twelve miles from the city in one direction, and scarcely a mile in the other. Beloli Lodi, thinking the pear was now ripe, marched down upon Delhi. The king resigned the throne to him without a sigh, and retired on a pension to Budaon, where he passed twenty-eight years of his life in cultivating his gardens. With him, in 1450, ended house of the Syuds.

Beloli Lodi, 1450—1488.

Beloli was an Afghan of the tribe of Lodi, now known as the Lohanee, which is engaged chiefly in the conveyance of merchandise between Hindostan and Persia. His grandfather, a wealthy trader, repaired to the court of Feroze Toghluk, the first great patron of the Afghans, where he acquired sufficient interest to obtain the government of Mooltan, to which was subsequently added that of the Punjab. This rich inheritance eventually came to Beloli, though not without great opposition on the part of his relatives. His success was chiefly owing to the talents of Humeed, the vizier of his predecessor, whom he subsequently banished from his court, on the plea that he was becoming too powerful for a subject. The ambitious Beloli was not likely to remain content with the humble limits to which the imperial territory had been reduced, and the great object of his reign was to extend his authority, and more particularly to re-annex the kingdom of Jounpore to the crown, which, since its establishment, had become, in every respect, the rival of Delhi. Beloli had not been two years on the throne before he made an inroad into it, but was vigorously repulsed. The struggle between the two kingdoms was prolonged with various successes for twenty-eight years, during which period Delhi was twice besieged by the armies of Jounpore. Hostilities were occasionally suspended by a truce, but it only afforded the combatants the opportunity of recruiting their strength for fresh conflicts. It is distressing to reflect on the desolation entailed on these districts, which form the garden of Hindostan, and the misery inflicted on the wretched inhabitants, by the internecine wars of these two royal houses,

in comparison with which even the oppression of the worst of governments must appear light. Happily for the interests of humanity, the conflict was brought to a close in 1476, when the "King of the East," as he was styled, fled to Bengal and the kingdom of Jounpore was absorbed in the territory of Delhi. The dynasty existed for eighty years, of which period one-half was comprised in the reign of Ibrahim, one of the most illustrious princes in the history of Hindostan. Under his beneficent administration, the prosperity of the country reached its summit. Learned men from all parts of India were invited to the court, which was universally acknowledged to be the most polished and elegant in India. The city of Jounpore was adorned with superb and massive structures, the remains of which to this day testify the magnificence of the dynasty. Beloli survived this protracted warfare ten years, and died in 1488, after a reign of thirty-eight years, during which he succeeded in extending the territory of the crown from the Jumna to the Himalayu, and from the Indus to Benares.

Secunder and Ibrahim Lodi, 1488—1526.

Beloli, as if he had determined to render family feuds inevitable, divided his territories among his sons, but Secunder, to whom he had bequeathed the largest share, together with the throne, lost no time in dispossessing his brothers. His prosperous reign of twenty-eight years was marked by the recovery of Behar. Though just and equitable in his administration, he followed the rule rather than the exception of the Mahomedan conquerors of India with regard to the treatment of the Hindoos. He lost no opportunity of manifesting his hatred of them, and in every quarter demolished their temples and erected mosques with the materials. In the holy city of Muttra he planted a mosque in front of the stairs leading to the sacred stream, and at length forbade the devotees to bathe in it, and the barbers to shave the pilgrims. In the year 1517, he was succeeded by Ibrahim, the third and last of his line, who alienated the nobles by his suspicious temper and his haughty

demeanour. His reign was a constant struggle with rebellion. Behar revolted under its governor, who is said to have brought a body of 100,000 men into the field, and repeatedly defeated the armies of the emperor. A prince of his own family took possession of the eastern districts and endeavoured to revive the kingdom of Jounpore. Dowlut Khan, the governor of the Punjab, the viceroys of which had frequently imposed their own orders on the emperor of Delhi, and more than once usurped the throne itself, now entered into negotiations with Sultan Baber for the invasion of Hindostan. Even the emperor's own brother, Alla-ood-deen, joined that prince at Cabul, and encouraged him in his designs on Hindostan. The success which attended his invasion will be the subject of a future chapter. Having thus reached the period when the throne of Delhi was transferred to the fifth and last Mahomedan dynasty, we turn to the progress of events in the Deccan, in Malwa, and in Guzerat, from the period when those provinces were separated from the empire.

Candesh, Malwa, Guzerat, and Mewar, to 1443.

The principality of Candesh, the governor of which had revolted from the throne of Delhi, though abounding in population and wealth was too limited and weak for independent action, and became subservient to its more powerful neighbours. During the period of more than a century and a half which elapsed between the dismemberment of the empire under Mahomed Toghluk, and the rise of the Mogul dynasty, the two Mahomedan kings of Guzerat, and Malwa, and the Hindoo raja of Mewar, or Oodipore, were engaged in perpetual hostilities with each other, and their history may therefore be conveniently grouped together. Sultan Dilawur, the first independent king of Malwa, bequeathed the kingdom in 1405, to his son, Sultan Hoshung, who was engaged for more than twenty-five years in wars with his neighbours, in which he was seldom successful. His name is perpetuated in the town of Hoshungabad, which he founded. He was attacked and made prisoner by Mozuffer, the king of Guzerat, but was released, upon a report

that his subjects were about to elect another sovereign, and take the field. Mozuffer was succeeded in 1412 by his grandson, Ahmed Shah, whose long reign of thirty years, was passed in constant hostilities either with Malwa or Mewar. His name survives in the new capital, Ahmedabad, which he erected on the banks of the Saburmuttee, and adorned with magnificent mosques, caravanseras and palaces, in such profusion, that the Mahomedan historians described it as the handsomest city in the world. He was a zealous Mahomedan, and a great destroyer of Hindoo temples and images. He was succeeded in 1443 by his son, Mahomed Shah, surnamed by his subjects, the "merciful," and by his enemies, the "weak." Sultan Hoshung, the turbulent king of Malwa, died in 1432, and bequeathed the kingdom to his son, who was soon after put to death by his minister, Mahmood Khan Ghiljie, the Afghan, who mounted the throne, and proved to be the ablest of the kings of Malwa, during a long reign of forty-seven years, which extended from 1435 to 1482. Some years after his accession, he invaded Guzerat with an army of 100,000 men, and pursued the feeble monarch to the promontory of Diu. The Guzerattee nobles, anxious to retrieve the national honour, persuaded the queen to administer poison to him, and then raised his son, Kootub Shah, to the throne, and resolved to make a vigorous effort for their independence. A pitched battle was accordingly fought under the walls of Ahmedabad, in which Mahmood was for the first and last time defeated; but seeing the day lost, he put himself at the head of some troopers, and pushing through every obstacle, bore off the regalia in triumph from the tent of the king. Notwithstanding this partial reverse, he seems to have had the unobstructed range of northern India, as we find him the next year marching to Biana, and establishing his son governor of Ajmere. On his return to Malwa he proceeded first against the Bahminy kingdom in the Deccan, then to Candesh, and finally against the rajah of Chittore.

War with During the scenes of confusion at Delhi, which

Chittore, 1554. have been previously described, one Hindoo kingdom in the north recovered its independence, and succeeded in maintaining it for two centuries—the Rajpoot state of Chittore, or Mewar. In the days of sultan Hoshung the throne was filled by Koombhoo, one of the most illustrious princes of that ancient line, who applied himself for fifty years vigorously to the consolidation of Rajpoot power, and founded the city of Koomulnere. In 1456, Kootub Shah of Guzerat, formed an alliance with Mahmood of Malwa, for the conquest and partition of Mewar, but the result of the war is differently related. The Mahomedan historians affirm that the Rajpoot prince acknowledged himself the vassal of Mahmood, while Hindoo writers state that he was triumphant, and erected a column to commemorate his victory on the brow of Chittore. In 1461, Mahmood, seeing the throne of the Deccan filled by a child, and the country distracted by factions, marched against the capital, Beder, under the walls of which a battle was fought in which he proved victorious. He renewed the invasion the next year, when the ministers, unable to cope with his superior force, implored the aid of the king of Guzerat, who readily granted it, and obliged the invader to retire, by creating a diversion in his own territories of Malwa. A treaty appears to have been subsequently concluded between him and the Bahminy cabinet, based upon the cession of certain districts. The career of Mahmood, the greatest of the kings of Malwa, "whose tent was his house, and the battle field his resting place," was at length brought to a close in 1482, and the court of Mandoo exhibited a sudden and ludicrous change.

Gheias-ood-deen's seraglio, 1482. His son and successor, Gheias-ood-deen, had no sooner ascended the throne, than he invited his nobles and officers to a splendid entertainment, and in a set speech informed them, that he had passed thirty-four-years in the field, fighting by the side of his gallant father, and was determined to spend the remainder of his life in peace and enjoyment, that he intended to retain the royal

dignity, but to transfer the management of affairs to his son. The youth was accordingly proclaimed vizier, and the king retired to his seraglio, which he had filled with 15,000 of the most beautiful women he could procure. In this female court, the pomp and distinctions of royalty were strictly maintained; the royal body guard consisted of 500 Turki maidens dressed in male attire and armed with bows and quivers, and of 500 Abyssinian girls furnished with firearms. Strange as it may appear, the king was allowed to enjoy this pageantry for eighteen years, without a single attempt at rebellion. His son, Nazir-ood-deen, succeeded him in 1500, and his reign of twelve years was noted only by its cruelty and sensuality.

Mahmood Shah, of Guzerat, 1459—1511.

During the listless reign of Gheias-ood-deen, of Malwa, and the dissolute reign of his son, the rival throne of Guzerat was filled by Mahmood Shah, the brother of Kootub Shah, who ascended the throne in 1459, and shed lustre on it for fifty years. Though crowned at the early age of fourteen, his talents were soon matured, and it was while yet a youth that he marched into Malwa, and created the diversion which has been noticed. The European travellers who visited his court, awed by the dignity of his personal appearance, conceived the most extravagant opinion of his power. They affirmed that a portion of his daily food consisted of mortal poisons, with which his system became so impregnated, that if a fly sat on him it dropped down dead. He was the original of the picture drawn by the British poet of the prince of Cambay, "whose food was asp, and basilisk and toad." But even without the power of digesting poisons, he was a most puissant prince. In 1469, he attacked Gernal, a Hindoo fortress, of boundless antiquity and impregnable strength. It fell on the third assault, when the king is said to have persuaded the raja and all his court to embrace Mahomedanism. Three years after, he overrun Cutch and defeated an army of Belochees, annexed Sinde to his dominions, and extended his boundary to the Indus. Soon after, a Mahomedan saint complained to him that on his

return from Ormuz in Persia, he had been ill-used and plundered by the people of Jugut, the land's end of India on the western coast. The king and his soldiers were equally inflamed by the story of the holy man's wrongs, and they marched with great zeal "against the infernal-minded brahmins," as the Mahomedan historian, Ferishta, calls them. Jugut was reduced, but the pirates on the coast, who fled to the island of Bete, in the gulf of Cambay, are said to have fought twenty naval battles before they were finally subdued. In 1482, Mahmood led an army against the Hindoo ruler of the very ancient principality of Chumpanere. The place is said to have been defended by 60,000 Rajpoots, of whom a large number fell in the siege, and the prince and his ministers were put to death, when it was found that they refused to become Musulmans. The conflicts of the Guzerat navy with the Portuguese during this reign, will be narrated hereafter. On the death of this renowned prince in 1511, he was succeeded by his son, Mozuffer the Second.

Mahmood, the second, of Malwa, 1512.

Mahmood the Second, the last king of Malwa, ascended the throne in 1512, when his nobles conspired to unseat him and to elevate his brother. The confederacy was defeated through the exertions of Medni Roy, the Rajpoot chief of Chunderee, who was thereupon appointed the chief minister as the reward of his services, and proceeded forthwith to fill the court and the army with his own countrymen. The Mahomedans, considering all the offices of state as their own property, resented this intrusion, and endeavoured to infuse suspicions into the mind of the king, who is said to have dismissed 40,000 Rajpoots at once from his service, and to have employed assassins to despatch the minister himself. He escaped with a few wounds, and eventually succeeded in regaining his power at the Malwa court. Mahmood, feeling himself little better than a prisoner in his own capital, escaped to Guzerat, where he found the king, equally with himself, alarmed at the growing power of the Hindoos. The neighbouring kingdom of Chittore was go-

verned at the time by Rana Sunga, who had raised it to the summit of prosperity by his genius and valour. His army consisted of 80,000 horse, supported by 500 war elephants. Seven rajas of the highest rank, and a hundred and thirteen of inferior note attended his stirrup to the field. The rajas of Jeypore and Marwar served under his banner, and he was the acknowledged head of all the Rajpoot tribes. The historian of Rajpootana enumerates eighteen pitched battles which he had fought with Malwa and Guzerat. Those two sovereigns dreaded lest Medni Roy should obtain possession of the resources of Malwa, and unite with the Rana in establishing Hindoo sovereignty throughout central India. To meet this danger, they marched against Mandoo, the capital of Malwa, which was then held by the son of Medni Roy, and which did not surrender until 19,000 Rajpoots had fallen in its defence. Mahmood was restored to his kingdom, and in 1519 measured his strength with Rana Sunga. In the battle which ensued, the Malwa king was totally defeated and captured. The generous Rajpoot prince personally attended to his wounds, and, when they were healed, liberated him without a ransom. Hostilities, however, continued between the king of Guzerat and the Rana, which, after a succession of successes and defeats, terminated in a solid peace.

Extinction of Malwa. On the death of Mozuffer of Guzerat in 1526, the throne was successively occupied by two princes, who speedily disappeared, when the wild and wayward Bahadoor Shah ascended it. A brother of his fled to Malwa, and, in an evil hour, the king Mahmood granted him an asylum, which so incensed Bahadoor, that he immediately equipped a large army for the invasion of the country. While this storm was gathering on one side, the ill-starred king provoked the wrath of Rana Sunga, who lost no time in forming an alliance with Bahadoor Shah, and their united forces poured down like a torrent upon Malwa. Mahmood in some measure retrieved his reputation by his noble conduct in the last scene of his life. Though his army was reduced

to 3,000, he still continued to defend his capital with great courage, but he was at length obliged to capitulate; and on the 26th of May, a month after Baber had established the Mogul dynasty on the throne of Delhi, the standard of Guzerat was planted on the battlements of Mandoo, and the kingdom of Malwa, then in its hundred and twenty-fifth year, was absorbed in the dominions of its rival. Mahmood and his seven sons were sent prisoners to Chumpanere, but were put to death on the road, in consequence of an attack by the Bheels.

The Bahminy dynasty, 1347—1397.

It has been stated that the oppressions of Mahomed Toghluk produced a revolt in the Deccan, which issued in the establishment of an independent kingdom. Ismael, the Afghan, who had been raised to the throne, voluntarily ceded it soon after to the general Hussun Gungu, who had been the chief instrument in acheiving the revolution. He was likewise an Afghan, but of humble extraction, who leased a plot of ground from a Hindoo astrologer in the city of Delhi, and resigned to him of his own accord some valuable treasure which he had discovered in it. The astrologer was so highly pleased with his honesty as to recommend him to the notice of the emperor, under whose favour he rose to great distinction. Out of gratitude to the astrologer Gungu, his early patron, he had assumed his name, and on his elevation to the throne of the Deccan in 1347, took the additional title of Bahminy, by which the dynasty is generally known in history. The kingdom comprised all the territories held by the emperor of Delhi south of the Nerbudda, with the exception of the provinces of the two Hindoo kingdoms of Telingana and Beejuynugur, the establishment of which circumscribed the Bahminy dominions, and led to incessant war. Hussun died in 1358, after a prosperous reign of eleven years, and was succeeded by his son Mahomed, who commenced his reign by attacking the king of Telingana, and obliging him to sue for peace, which was granted on the cession of the hill of Golconda, and the sur-

render of a throne of immense value, which was subsequently enriched with additional jewels till it was estimated to be worth four crores of rupees. Soon after Mahomed, in a drunken revel, granted an order on the treasury of Beejuynugur, and the raja immediately sent an army across the Kistna to revenge the insult, when the town of Moodgul was captured and its inhabitants put to the sword. Mahomed, on hearing of the slaughter, swore "that food and sleep should be unlawful to him till he had propitiated the martyrs of Moodgul by the slaughter of a hundred thousand infidels." He crossed the Toombudra and pursued the raja for three months from district to district, putting to death every Hindoo who fell into his hands. A pitched battle was at length fought, in which the Bahminy monarch was victorious, when having, as he hoped, completed his vow of revenge, he granted his opponent honourable terms, and, on his return to his own capital, devoted his time to the improvement of his dominions. He died in 1375, after a reign of seventeen years, and was succeeded by his son Mujahid Shah, who possessed the most majestic beauty of all the princes of his line, and was exceeded by none in valour and fortitude. He began his reign by demanding from the raja of Beejuynugur, Raichore, Moodgul, and other places lying in the *dooab* of the Kistna and the Toombudra, the object of perpetual strife between the rival Hindoo and Mahomedan powers. The demand was refused, and a war commenced, during which Mujahid chased the raja for six months through the whole extent of the Carnatic, and at length accepted his submission. The merit of the young king in this campaign was rendered the more conspicuous by the disparity of his resources as compared with those of the Hindoo raja, whose territories stretched from sea to sea, and who reckoned the rulers of Malabar and Ceylon among his tributaries. Mujahid was assassinated by his own uncle, after a brief reign of four years.

Feroze and

Feroze, the son of the assassin, mounted the

Ahmed Shah, 1397—1435. throne in 1397, and his reign and that of his brother, which occupied thirty seven years, are considered the most palmy days of the dynasty. Feroze reigned twenty-five years, and made twenty-four campaigns. He carried fire and sword through the whole extent of the Carnatic, and constrained the raja of Beejuynugur to submit to an annual tribute of a crore of rupees, and to give him his daughter in marriage. He was a great patron of learning, and erected an observatory. He established a mercantile navy, and instructed his commanders to bring the most learned men and the most handsome women from the ports they visited. His seraglio is said to have contained beauties from thirteen different nations; and the historians affirm that he was able to converse with each one in her own tongue. He likewise made a point of copying sixteen pages of the Koran every fourth day. The close of his reign was gloomy. He wantonly engaged in hostilities with the raja of Beejuynugur, and was totally defeated. The triumphant Hindoos appeared anxious to bring up the arrears of vengeance due to their relentless enemies. In the various towns which they captured they razed the mosques to the ground, and erected platforms of the heads of the slain. The end of Feroze was hastened by these reverses, and he was succeeded by his brother Ahmed Shah, denominated Wully, or the saint, for the supposed efficacy of his prayers in procuring rain in a season of drought. Anxious to recover the prestige of the Mahomedan power he proceeded immediately to the invasion of the Hindoo kingdom. He crossed the Toombudra in great force, defeated the raja, and pursued the Hindoos in every direction with unrelenting ferocity, halting only to celebrate a feast whenever the number of the slain was computed to have reached 20,000. He obliged the raja to pay up all arrears of tribute, and then turned his arms against Telingana, captured and despoiled the capital, and, according to the usual Mahomedan practice, pulled down the temples, and erected mosques with the materials. He then marched to the north,

where he was captivated with the situation of Beder to such a degree that he caused a new city to be built on the site, which he called after his own name, Ahmedabad Beder, and adorned it with magnificent buildings. He was likewise engaged in two wars with Malwa, and a third was averted only by the cession of Berar. His generals were also sent to seize the Concan, or strip of land lying between the ghauts and the sea, from Mahim, or Bombay, to Goa. But this expedition brought him in contact with the formidable naval power of Guzerat, and he was constrained to relinquish it. His wild career terminated in 1435.

Alla-ood-deen, 1435. He was succeeded by his son Alla-ood-deen, who immediately went to war with Beejuynugur, and was successful. He then proceeded to invade Candesh, took the capital, Boorhanpore, and levelled the royal palaces with the ground. The Hindoo rajas of Beejuynugur had seldom been able to cope with their Mahomedan neighbour; but, though their dominions were superior in extent, population and wealth, had been constantly subjected to the payment of tribute. It was about this time that the raja, Deva Roy, is said to have assembled his nobles to investigate the cause of this disgrace. Some ascribed it to the decree of the gods; others to fate, which is stronger than the gods; while a third party traced it to the superior cavalry and archery of the Mahomedans. The raja, therefore, enlisted 2,000 Mahomedan archers in his service, and, in conjunction with 60,000 of his own bowmen, took the field against Alla-ood-deen, and fought two battles, but with doubtful success. Two Mahomedan officers of rank, however, fell into his hands, and the Bahminy monarch swore that if they were not instantly given up he would sacrifice 100,000 infidels for each. Deva Roy had not forgotten the result of a similar vow on a former occasion, and sued for peace, paying up all the tribute that had become due. Alla-ood-deen died in 1457, and was succeeded by his son—a monster of cruelty—who was assassinated by his own servants as he lay on his couch helpless from intoxication.

We pass on to the last substantive king of the Deccan, Mahomed Shah, who was placed on the throne at the age of nine, in 1463.

Mahomed Shah, 1463—1486.

During his minority the administration was conducted by the queen mother and two ministers, one of whom, the preceptor of the prince, was assassinated by her orders, because he was supposed to have acquired too great an influence over his pupil. The other, Mahmood Gawan, was the greatest general and statesman of the age, and one of the most distinguished characters in the Mahomedan history of India. He marched into the Concan, where two former expeditions had failed, and not only reduced the province and the ghauts above it to subjection, but wrested the island of Goa from the raja of Beejuynugur, who had usurped it. He then turned his attention to the eastern coast, reinstated the Ray of Orissa, who had been expelled and sought protection, and added Condapilly and Rajahmundry to the Bahminy territories. But the Ray subsequently took advantage of a famine which was desolating the country to make an attempt to regain the districts he had lost. Mahmood Gawan marched down upon him with prompitude, and speedily extinguished all opposition, and annexed Masulipatam to the kingdom. The king, who had accompanied the expedition, having heard of the renowned temple of Canchi, or Conjeveram, near Madras, the walls and roof of which were reported to be covered with plates of gold, rushed through the intervening country, at the head of 6,000 chosen horse, with such rapidity as to astound the various chiefs, took possession of the temple, and despoiled it of its wealth before they could come to its rescue.

Murder of Mahmood Gawan.

Under the powerful genius of Mahmood the Bahminy kingdom reached its greatest limits. It stretched from the Concan to Masulipatam, and from the Nerbudda to the Kistna. The minister now resolved to turn his attention to the improvement of the administration. He divided the kingdom into eight provinces,

and curtailed the power of the governors, thus diminishing the chance of their revolt. He introduced vigorous reforms into every branch of the government to the great disgust of all whose private interests were affected by them. They determined, therefore, on his destruction; and having ingratiated themselves with the Abyssinian who had charge of his seal, induced him, when half drunk, to affix it to a blank sheet of paper, which they filled up with a treasonable letter to the Ray of Orissa, inciting him to revolt, and offering him assistance. The paper was artfully produced before the king, as if it had been found by accident; and Hussun Bheiry, a converted Hindoo, the mortal enemy of Mahmood, who had been his benefactor, endeavoured to inflame his mind against the minister. He was ordered into the royal presence and upbraided with his treason. He exclaimed, "This is a great forgery; the seal is mine, but of the letter itself I am totally ignorant." The king, inflamed with wine and passion, ordered one of his Abyssinian slaves to cut him down. Gawan calmly replied that the fate of an old man could be of little consequence, but that his death would seal the doom of the kingdom. The king turned into his seraglio; the slave approached the minister, then in his seventy-eighth year, and he knelt down, with his face towards Mecca, and received the fatal blow. He died in graceful poverty. Though he had served five monarchs, his cabinet was found to contain only 10,000 rupees. The proceeds of the jaygeer allotted for the support of his office, he had, in part, distributed among his officers, and, in part, disbursed among the poor in his master's name. The money which he had brought with him into the country had been employed in commerce, the profits of which, after providing for his kitchen on the moderate scale of two rupees a day, were assigned to the poor in his own name. The king died within a twelve month of his minister, a prey to remorse, exclaiming, in the paroxysms of his agony, that Mahmood Gawan was tearing him to pieces.

Dissolution of — It is unnecessary farther to pursue the history

The Bahminy kingdom, 1489—1512.

of the Bahminy dynasty; the sun of its prosperity set with the stroke which deprived the great minister of life. Mahmood Shah, the son of the late king, ascended the throne in 1482, and lived on, though he can scarcely be said to have reigned, for thirty-seven years; the kingdom crumbled away, as governor after governor revolted, and it was at length resolved into five independent states.

The five kingdoms.

1. Eusof Adil Shah, the adopted son of Mahmood Gawan, a Turk, who claimed descent from the conquerors of Constantinople, established the Adil Shahy dynasty at Beejapore. 2. Hussun Bheiry, who had instigated the murder of Mahmood, and was subsequently executed by order of his master, was a brahmin of Beejapore, who was taken prisoner and sold to the Bahminy king, who circumcised him and raised him to distinction. His son, Ahmed Nizam, on hearing of his father's fate, raised the standard of revolt at Ahmednugur, and established the Nizam Shahy dynasty. 3. Imad-ool-moolk, on the general dissolution of the monarchy, made himself independent in the province of Berar, of which he was governor, and gave rise to the Imad Shahy line of princes. 4. Koolee Kootub was a Turkoman of Hamadan in Persia, who came to India in search of employment, and rose to the post of governor of Golconda, where, on the decomposition of the Bahminy kingdom, he established an independent dynasty, which is known in history as the Kootub Shahy. 5. Ahmed Bereed was appointed minister on the execution of Mahmood Gawan, and gradually substituted his own influence for that of the king at the capital and in the adjacent districts, and at length established the Bereed Shahy dynasty at Beder. This division of sovereign power among five independent states who were incessantly at war with each other, was the greatest calamity which could have befallen the country, and subjected the wretched provinces for a century and a half to merciless rapine.

Rise of the Portuguese power.

While the Bahminy kingdom was thus crumbling to pieces, another race of adventurers appeared on the western coast of India, and gave a new direction to its politics and commerce. A Portuguese expedition landed in the harbour of Calicut, and paved the way for the eventual transfer of power from the Mahomedans to the Christians. For some time previous to this memorable event, the general progress of improvement in Europe and the increase of nautical skill and boldness, had inspired its maritime nations with a strong desire to discover the way to India by sea, and to participate in its rich commerce, which was then monopolised by the Venetians. The Portuguese were at this time the foremost and most enterprising among the navigators of Europe; and John, king of Portugal, anxious to make the circuit of the continent of Africa, had sent his admiral, Bartholomew Dias, on this perilous undertaking. It was he who first doubled the Cape of Good Hope, which he named the Cape of Storms in reference to the tempestuous weather which he encountered. But the king was so highly elated with the success of the expedition and the prospects which it opened to him, that he changed the name to that which it has ever since borne. Soon after, Christopher Columbus, hoping to reach India by sailing westward, obtained the patronage of the king of Spain, and, launching boldly into the ocean, which had never been traversed before, made the discovery of America. His successful return from this voyage of unexampled peril filled all Europe with astonishment.

Portuguese expedition to India, 1497.

The king of Portugal was deeply chagrined to find that the neglect with which he had treated the advances of Columbus, had deprived him of the opportunity of adding another continent to his dominions; but he resolved to seek compensation for this loss in an attempt to reach India, by doubling the Cape, and stretching to the eastward. An expedition was accordingly fitted out for this purpose, consisting of three vessels, the command of

which was entrusted to Vasco de Gama. The whole population of Lisbon poured out to witness his departure on the 8th of July, 1497, and the sailors went through various religious ceremonies, as men who never expected to return. Vasco was four months reaching the Cape, which, however, he doubled with a fair and gentle breeze. He anchored at Melinda, on the African coast, where he was supplied with a pilot to conduct his vessels to India. On the 22nd of May, 1498, he cast anchor on the Malabar coast, off Calicut, which presented to his delighted eyes the appearance of a noble town with a fertile plain rising up in the back ground, bounded by a distant range of lofty mountains. Calicut, then a place of extensive traffic, belonged to an independent Hindoo raja, called the Zamorin, and lay considerably to the south of the limit to which the Mahomedan conquests had extended. The harbours on the coast immediately to the north of it, belonged to the Hindoo raja of Beejuynugur; those higher up to the Bahminy kingdom, while those in the extreme north were within the limits of Guzerat. The Zamorin was greatly struck with the appearance of strangers from a remote and unknown region, differing so entirely in aspect, manners, and arms from the foreigners who frequented the port. He received them at first with cordiality, and manifested every disposition to promote their views. But the Moors, as they were called, or the Musulmans from Egypt and Arabia who had engrossed the maritime traffic of that coast, and enjoyed no small influence in its ports, viewed the arrival of the interlopers with great jealousy, and determined to defeat their object. They bribed the minister of the raja to insinuate to him that the strangers were not the men they represented themselves to be, but pirates, who had plundered the coast of Africa, and were now come to India on the same errand. The Zamorin, swayed by these accusations, authorized the Moors to adopt violent measures against them, and two of Vasco's principal officers, who were on shore, were treacherously arrested. He immediately retaliated by seizing six of

the respectable natives who happened to be on board his vessel, and refused to release them till his own officers were surrendered. The raja manifested some hesitation to comply with this reasonable demand, and Vasco weighed anchor in haste and began to sail out of the harbour with the hostages. Presently, several boats were seen to pull off from the shore, one of which contained his officers whom the Zamorin now hastened to release. Vasco sent back some of the natives he had detained, but resolved to take several of them with him to Lisbon, to give them an opportunity of viewing the city and reporting its grandeur on their return. Having now completed his cargoes, he set sail for Europe, and, on the 29th of August, 1499, re-entered the Tagus, in regal pomp, after an absence of twenty-six months. Men of all ranks crowded to welcome him, and to admire the vessels which had performed so marvellous a voyage; the king showered honours on him, and the nations of Europe were enraptured with the discovery of a new and easier path to the land of fabulous wealth.

Second voyage under Cabral, 1499.

A second expedition was fitted out in the same year, consisting of thirteen ships and 1,200 men, the command of which was given to Cabral. He was accompanied by eight friars, who were sent to preach Christianity to the natives, and he was directed to carry fire and sword into every province that refused to listen to them. In the course of the voyage he discovered Brazil, on the coast of South America, and took possession of it in the name of his sovereign, in the year 1500. In doubling the Cape he encountered terrific gales, and lost four of his ships, in one of which was the celebrated admiral Dias, who thus found a grave in the seas which he had been the first to explore. Cabral, on reaching Calicut, restored the natives who had been taken to Portugal, where they had been treated with distinguished kindness. He was received with much courtesy by the Zamorin, to whom he presented gifts of rare beauty and value. But the Moorish merchants, annoyed at

the return of the strangers whom they hoped to have finally driven from the shores of India, effectually prevented them from obtaining cargoes. Cabral presented a remonstrance to the Zamorin, and received authority, as he supposed, to sequester vessels carrying the Mahomedan flag. A Moorish ship with a rich cargo was accordingly seized; the merchants hastened to the raja with their complaints, and obtained permission to expel the intruders. The factory which the Portuguese had erected was forthwith attacked, and all the foreigners in it were put to death. Cabral immediately seized and burnt ten Moorish craft, after having transferred their cargoes to his own ships. He then laid his vessels abreast of the town, and having set it on fire with his artillery, set sail for the neighbouring town of Cochin, where he formed a treaty with the raja, and returned to Lisbon in July, 1501.

Second voyage of Vasco, 1502. The report of these transactions inflamed the desire which the king of Portugal had been cherishing to establish an empire in the east. He assumed the title of Lord of the Navigation, Conquest, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Persia, Arabia and India, and fitted out a more formidable expedition than any that had as yet left the shores of Portugal. Vasco de Gama, who was placed in command of it, reached the coast of India without any accident, and anchoring off Calicut, demanded satisfaction for the insult offered to Cabral, which was at once refused, and Vasco is said to have put to death fifty of the natives who had repaired to his vessels. At the same time he poured a destructive fire into the town of Calicut, and then weighing anchor proceeded to the friendly port of Cochin, which now became the mart of the Portuguese trade. Three expeditions of minor importance were successively sent out, and cargoes obtained partly by barter, and partly by terror. The Portuguese were lulled into security by the success which attended them, and Pacheco was left with a handful of men to protect their settlement at Cochin. The Zamorin was thus encouraged to make

an attempt to expel them, and at the same time to punish the raja of Cochin for having fostered them. The troops of Calicut exceeded those of Pacheco as fifty to one, but his admirable strategy, and the valour of his soldiers, repulsed every assault; and he was the first to exhibit that decisive superiority of European over Asiatic troops, which three centuries and a half have now abundantly confirmed.

Naval battle with the Mahomedans, 1508.

In the year 1505, the king of Portugal sent out Francis Almeyda, with the title of viceroy of India, though as yet he did not possess a foot of land in it. The early success of the Portuguese in India is to be attributed to the singular genius and audacity of the men who conducted their expeditions, and Almeyda was inferior to none of them. Soon after his arrival, the Hindoo raja of Beejuynugur, who could not fail to perceive that the power of the strangers would become paramount on the western coast, sent an envoy with rich presents for the king of Portugal, to whom he proposed a treaty of alliance, and offered his own daughter in marriage. But the bright prospects thus opened to the Portuguese were soon overclouded. Before the discovery of the passage to India round the Cape, the whole trade of the east, conveyed overland, had been monopolised by the Venetians, and the "Queen of the Adriatic," as Venice was called, became the envy of Europe. The Venetians had reason now to apprehend that this magnificent traffic would be diverted into a new channel, and pass altogether out of their hands. They possessed great influence in Egypt, which was one of their most important marts, and they urged the Sultan to fit out a fleet in the Red Sea, to sweep their rivals from the Indian Ocean, and assisted him with timber from their own forests in Dalmatia. A powerful fleet was speedily equipped and sent to India, under the command of Meer Hookum, the Egyptian admiral. The king of Guzerat, who was equally alarmed at the progress of the Portuguese, ordered his admiral to co-operate with the Egyptians. Lorenzo, the son of Almeyda, was cruising in the

north with a division of the Portuguese fleet, when the combined squadrons bore down upon him. The Portuguese fought with the gallantry of European sailors, but the superiority of the enemy in the number of their ships, and the calibre of their guns, gave them the victory. The gallant Lorenzo, whose vessel was entangled in some fishing stakes, and thus exposed singly to the fire poured in upon him from all sides, fell covered with wounds, after performing prodigies of valour, which filled even the Mahomedans with admiration. To avenge the death of his son, Almeyda reduced the flourishing port of Dabul to ashes, and then proceeded in search of the enemy, whom he found anchored in the harbour of Diu. The conflict was long and doubtful, for the Egyptian and Guzerattee admirals were men of great nautical experience and valour, but all their larger vessels were at length either burnt or captured, and the smaller craft escaped up the river. Peace was subsequently concluded between the belligerents, and all the European prisoners were restored.

Albuquerque, 1507—1516.

Almeyda soon after resigned his post to Albuquerque, the greatest of all the Portuguese commanders. It was his ambition to found an empire in the east, and he succeeded in this bold enterprise. Abandoning the system of predatory excursions along the coast which had satisfied his predecessors, he resolved to establish and fortify a port which should serve as the centre of his operations. He fixed on the island of Goa, lying on the Malabar Coast, about twenty-three miles in circumference, of which he took possession, and though at one time driven from it by the native prince, recaptured it, and erected fortifications which effectually baffled all the efforts of the country powers. From that time Goa became the seat of the Portuguese power in the east, and Albuquerque sent and received embassies with all the magnificence of an eastern monarch. Having placed the government of his new settlement on the wisest foundation, he turned his attention to more distant regions and enterprizes. He proceeded eastward, to the port of Ma-

lacca, then the great emporium of trade in the eastern archipelago, with an armament of 800 Portuguese soldiers and 600 natives whom he had enlisted and trained. The native prince is said to have assembled an army of 30,000 men to resist him, but the valour and discipline of his little force soon placed the city in his hands. The possession of this important position was immediately secured by the erection of a strong fort, and a new field of commercial enterprize to Siam, Java, and Sumatra, was thus opened to his countrymen. His efforts were next directed to the west, and he equipped a powerful squadron for the conquest of Ormuz, in the Persian Gulph. The imposing force which accompanied him effectually deterred the native prince from resistance, and Albuquerque was permitted to take possession of the island, and to raise a fortification in it. Ormuz rose rapidly in importance, the town was filled with 40,000 inhabitants, and became one of the most flourishing settlements in those seas. Thus had the genius of Albuquerque, in the short space of nine years, built up the Portuguese power in the east, and given them the command of the sea, and the control of the traffic throughout the eastern archipelago, which they continued to enjoy for a hundred years without a rival. Though he never obtained possession of a single province on the continent of India, his authority was supreme over 12,000 miles of coast, and it was sustained by an irresistible fleet and thirty factories, of which many were fortified. He was at length abruptly superseded in his command by the orders of his own sovereign, who did not condescend to soften the disgrace by any mark of distinction, or even by the courtesy of a letter. The ingratitude of which he was the victim, broke his heart; he expired on the barque which was conveying him to Goa, and was interred in the settlement which he had created, amidst the lamentations and tears of natives and Europeans, by whom he was equally beloved.

CHAPTER IV

MOGUL DYNASTY. BABER TO AKBAR. 1526–

The Mogul dynasty, 1526.

In the month of April, 1526, Sultan Baber captured Delhi, and established the Mogul dynasty, which continued to flourish for a hundred and eighty years, under a succession, unprecedented in India, of six monarchs, distinguished by their prowess in the field, and, with one exception, by their ability in the cabinet.

Baber's early career.

Baber, the sixth in descent from Timur, was the son of Sheikh Mirza, to whom the fertile province of Fergana, on the upper course of the Jaxartes, had been allotted in the distribution of the family possessions. His mother was a descendant of Jenghis Khan, and it has been noted by historians as a remarkable fact, that the empire founded by Baber should be known in history only as the Mogul empire, while he himself execrated the name of Mogul. Baber appears to have inherited that spirit of enterprise which distinguished both his renowned ancestors, and at the early age of fifteen, when he succeeded to the throne, commenced that adventurous career, which he pursued without interruption for thirty-five years. His first campaign was against the city of Samarcand, the metropolis of Transoxiana, which he captured with little difficulty, but he had not held it a hundred days before he was recalled to the defence of his paternal kingdom. He subsequently made three successful efforts to obtain possession of that city, which he coveted as the capital of Timur, and was thrice expelled from it.

Baber seizes Afghanistan, 1504.

Baber was engaged for eight years in a series of the most perilous enterprises, and experienced vicissitudes of fortune, which would have crushed an ordinary mind, but they only served to give fresh vigour

to his buoyant spirit. Seeing no hope of extending his conquests beyond the Oxus, he seized the city of Cabul in the year 1504, and succeeded in maintaining possession of it for twenty years. During this period he was incessantly employed in defending or enlarging his dominions, and never enjoyed a year of repose. His greatest peril arose from the progress of the Uzbeks, a tribe of ferocious Tartars, now swarming from their native hive, and seeking new settlements in the south. Their leader Shaibek had swept the posterity of Timur from Transoxiana and Khorasan, and in his progress towards the Indus had captured Candahar and threatened Cabul. Had he been able to march at once on that capital, he would probably have extinguished for ever the hopes of Baber, but he was recalled from these conquests by the hostility of Ismael Shah, the powerful chief of the tribe which had recently seized the throne of Persia, and established the dynasty of the Sophis. The Uzbek chief was routed and slain, and Baber seized the opportunity of again occupying Samarcand, from which he was again expelled in the course of a few months.

Baber's five expeditions to India, 1519—1525.

To compensate for this disappointment, he turned his attention to India, where the imbecility of the emperor of Delhi presented a temptation too strong to be resisted by a descendant of Timur. His first irruption was in the year 1519, and it was followed by two others, in five years, though with partial success. In 1524 he resumed this ambitious project, and overrun the Punjab, where he was joined by Alla-ood-deen, the brother of the emperor, with Dowlut Khan, and other officers, who had been alienated from him by his constant oppressions. But Baber, after having advanced as far as Sirhind, was obliged to return across the Indus, to repel an invasion from the north, and Dowlut Khan, on his departure, deserted his standard and took possession of the Punjab. Alla-ood-deen, who had been left in charge of the province, fled to Cabul, and was immediately sent back to India by Baber, with a well-

appointed army; but was signally defeated by the emperor, under the walls of Delhi. Baber now advanced on his fifth and last expedition with an army not exceeding 12,000 men, but they were all experienced veterans. The emperor, Ibrahim Lodi, advanced to meet him with an army generally estimated at 100,000, and a thousand elephants. The destiny of India was decided on the field of Paniput. The engagement lasted from sunrise to sunset, and resulted in the total defeat of the imperial army, and the death of the emperor, and 15,000 of his troops. Delhi opened her gates to the victor in May, 1526, and Baber vaulted into the vacant throne, and, as a token of his success, sent gifts from the treasury to the most celebrated Mahomedan shrines in Asia.

State of India on Baber's accession.

But Delhi had long ceased to be the capital and the mistress of India. The great Mahomedan empire had been broken up more than a century and a half before, by the extravagances of Mahomed Toghluk, and at the period of Baber's accession the various provinces were in the possession of independent rulers. In the southern extremity of Hindostan, the great Hindoo monarch of Beejuynugur claimed the allegiance of the various native chiefs who had never submitted to the Mahomedan yoke. Farther to the north lay the territories of the five kings of Beejapore, Ahmednugur, Golconda, Beder, and Berar, who were established on the dissolution of the Bahminy kingdom. The province of Gujerat was governed by a wild youth, who was ambitious of trying conclusions with the Mogul in the field. Rana Sunga, the most powerful prince of his race, was paramount in Rajpootana. The opulent kingdom of Bengal, including Behar, was ruled by an Afghan family, and the "sacred soil," as it was called, of Orissa, was in the possession of its ancient Hindoo dynasty. Still nearer Delhi, an independent prince held his court at Jounpore, and supported it from the revenues of Oude. The victory of Baber, therefore, only gave him the command of the districts to the north-west of Delhi, and a narrow tract of land, stretching along the

Jumna to Agra. He had India yet to conquer, but his generals shrunk from the task, and entreated him to return to the cooler and more genial climate of Afghanistan, where they might enjoy the booty they had acquired at Delhi and Agra. But Baber had crossed the Indus, not simply to plunder provinces, but to found an empire, and he announced his unalterable resolution to continue in India, and pursue his career; at the same time, however, he granted permission to all those to return who preferred ease to glory. His ardour subdued their reluctance, and only one of his generals availed himself of this privilege, and he and his soldiers were dismissed with honour, and laden with wealth, in the hope of inducing others to resort to Baber's standard. In the course of four months after the battle of Paniput, all the country held by Ibrahim Lodi had been secured, and the revolted kingdom of Jounpore brought under subjection.

Defeat of Rana Sunga, 1527.

But a more formidable enemy now appeared in the field. Rana Sunga, the Rajpoot prince of Chittore, and at this time the most powerful of all the sovereigns north of the Nerbudda, elated by a recent triumph over the king of Malwa, espoused the cause of the dethroned dynasty of Delhi. All the princes of Rajpootana ranged themselves under his banner, and he advanced with 100,000 men to drive Baber back across the Indus. The first conflict took place at Futtehpore Sikri, where the advanced guard of the Moguls was totally routed by the Rajpoots. Many of Baber's troops on this deserted their colours, some even went over to the enemy, and all were dispirited. Accustomed as he had been to dangers for thirty years, this extraordinary peril staggered him, but he never despaired. He states in his memoirs that in this emergency he repented of his sins, and determined to reform his life; that he foreswore the use of wine, and broke up his gold and silver cups, and distributed their value among the poor. He resolved to allow his beard to grow like a true Musulman, and promised, if God gave him the victory, to remit the stamp tax to the faithful.

Animated by his example, his generals took an oath on the Koran to conquer or to die. In this fever of enthusiasm Baber led them against the enemy, and by the aid of his powerful artillery obtained a signal victory, which completely broke the power of Chittore. He celebrated his success by constructing a pyramid of the heads of the slain, and assuming the title of Ghazee, or champion of the faith.

Conquest of Chunderee, Oude, and Behar, 1529.

The next year Baber attacked Chunderee, held by Medni Roy, whose history, in connection with the kingdoms of Guzerat and Malwa has been already related. Finding his position untenable, he and his Rajpoots devoted themselves to death with the usual ceremonies, and rushed with frenzy on the Mogul swords. Those who survived the onset put themselves to death. In the following year, Baber extended his authority over Oude and south Behar. But his constitution, which had been gradually impaired by long indulgence, was worn out by these severe exertions in an uncongenial climate. So active had been his life, that for thirty-eight years he had never kept the feast of the Ramzan twice in the same place. He died at Agra in 1530, at the age of fifty, and his remains were conveyed to Cabul and interred in a beautiful spot which he had himself selected for his tomb. The simple and chaste monument raised over his grave continued to attract admiration three centuries after his death. Among the Mahomedan princes of India, no monarch is held in higher estimation than Baber. His career exhibited that romantic spirit of adventure of which nations are always proud. His personal courage bordered on rashness; his activity was almost fabulous. While labouring under a wasting disease he rode a hundred and sixty miles in two days, and swam across the Ganges. He was, however, rather a valiant soldier than a great general, and he lost nearly as many battles as he won; but he never lost heart, and was as buoyant after a defeat as after a victory. Amidst all the bustle of war, he found time for the cultivation of

Death of Baber, 1530, his character.

literature, and his Persian poetry has been always admired for its elegance. The little leisure he enjoyed from the labours of the field, he devoted to the construction of aqueducts, reservoirs, and other works of public utility. There is no Indian prince with whose individual character we are so familiar, and this is owing to his own vivid delineation of it in the volume of personal memoirs he compiled, in which he records his transgressions with so much candour, and his repentance with so much sincerity, and recounts his friendships with so much cordiality, that in spite of all his failings he becomes an object of personal esteem.

Humayoon succeeds to the throne, 1530.

Humayoon succeeded his father at the close of 1530, but the first incident in his reign exhibited that easiness of disposition to which his subsequent misfortunes were chiefly to be attributed. His brother, Kamran, the governor of Cabul and Candahar, hesitated to acknowledge his authority, and Humayoon, not only consented to resign these provinces to him, but added the Punjab also. By this injudicious act he was deprived of the means of recruiting his army from the countries beyond the Indus, a loss which was severely felt in proportion as Baber's veterans died out, and Humayoon was obliged to depend on the troops he could enlist in Hindostan. In the third year of his reign, Humayoon became involved in hostilities with Bahadoor Shah. This impetuous prince who ascended the throne at the age of twenty, was incessantly engaged in aggressive wars during the eleven years of his reign. He had subjugated the independent kingdom of Malwa, and annexed it to his own dominions. He had compelled the kings of Ahmednugur and Beder to do him personal homage. He had added the ancient and venerable city of Oojein to his conquests, and sacked the city of Chittore, in the defence of which 32,000 Rajpoots are said to have fallen. Humayoon demanded the surrender of a fugitive conspirator, which was haughtily refused, on which he marched at once into the country.

King of Guzerat defeated, 1533.

Bahadoor Shah had planted his army in an entrenched camp at Mandishore, trusting to his fine artillery, manned by Portuguese gunners and commanded by Roomy Khan, originally a Turkish slave, but now the first engineer officer in India. Humayoon besieged the camp for two months, cut off its supplies, and reduced the king to such straits, that he was obliged to fly, and eventually to take refuge in Diu, the most remote harbour in the peninsula of Guzerat.

Humayoon's gallant capture of Chumpanere, 1535.

Humayoon immediately overran the province, and proceeded against the fortress of Chumpanere, in which the accumulated wealth of the dynasty was deposited. With only three hundred select troops, he climbed up the perpendicular rock on which it was built by means of steel spikes, and mastered it by an exhibition of heroism which rivalled the exploits of his father. The gallantry of his officers and soldiers was rewarded with as much gold and silver as they could heap on their shields. But his further progress was arrested by the necessity of returning to Agra, to arrest the progress of Shere Khan. On his retirement, Bahadoor Shah again took the field and regained his kingdom as rapidly as he had lost it; but he did not long enjoy it. While at Diu, he had negotiated with the Portuguese for three hundred Europeans to assist him in recovering his kingdom, and in return granted them permission to establish a factory at that port. They began immediately to surround it with a wall, the rudiments of a fortification, and brought up a fleet to protect the progress of the work. Bahadoor Shah had all the native horror of European intrusion,

Tragic death of Bahadoor Shah, 1537.

and was determined to prevent the completion of the work. He proceeded on board the admiral's ship, and invited him and his officers to an entertainment at which he had laid a plot to assassinate them. The admiral, it appears, was equally anxious to obtain possession of the king's person. An affray ensued in which the king lost his life, by accident, according to the Portuguese historians, by treachery, if we are to believe the Mahomedans.

Origin and progress of Shere Khan.

Shere Khan, who now appears on the scene, was one of the most distinguished characters in the annals of Mahomedan India. He was an Afghan of noble birth, of the tribe of Soor, which claimed affinity with the kings of Ghore. His father held the rank of a commander of 500, and the jaygeer of Sasseram, in Behar, where Shere Khan was born. At an early age he quitted his home in disgust, and enlisted as a private soldier under the king of Jounpore, but at the same time endeavoured to store his mind with knowledge, and prepare himself by study for future eminence. A long series of adventures in which he was engaged on his own account for several years, ended in the occupation of Behar and the siege of Gour, the capital of Bengal. Humayoon was recalled from Guzerat by the tidings of his alarming progress, and moved down to oppose him with a large army, but was detained six months beseiging Chunar, though it was assaulted by the floating batteries of Roomy Khan, whom Humayoon had allured to his service after the defeat of Bahadoor Shah. During this protracted siege Shere Khan captured Gour, conquered Bengal, and sent the king flying for shelter to the imperial camp.

Humayoon defeated by Shere Khan at Buxar, 1539.

As Humayoon entered Bengal, Shere Khan retired to the hilly and inaccessible region of the south-west, and deposited his family and treasures in the fortress of Rhotas. The emperor took up his residence in Gour, then in the zenith of its grandeur, and on the eve of its decay. When the rains set in, the delta of the Ganges became a sheet of water, and the great army of Humayoon was reduced by disease and desertions. He was constrained to retreat with his dispirited troops towards the capital, where his brothers were beginning to take advantage of his difficulties and to intrigue for the throne. Shere Khan now issued from his fastnesses, interrupted the progress of Humayoon's force, and after cutting up a detachment at Monghir, came up with the main army at Buxar. At a time when every moment was precious, Humayoon wasted two months

in constructing a bridge across the Ganges. Before it was completed, he was attacked and completely defeated by his rival, who now assumed the title of Shere Shah, and openly aspired to the empire.

Humayoon again defeated, and flies across the Indus, 1540.

Humayoon at length reached Agra, and extinguished the hostile schemes of his brothers. Eight months were passed in assembling an army for the great struggle with his formidable rival, who employed this period in subjugating and organizing Bengal. The two armies met in the neighbourhood of Cunouj, and Humayoon experienced a second and more fatal defeat. He fled from the field of battle to Agra, pursued by Shere Shah, and had barely time to remove his family to Delhi. From thence he was driven to Lahore, where his brother, instead of affording him an asylum, hastened to make his peace with the victor, and was allowed to retire to his territories beyond the Indus. Thus fell the kingdom which Baber had established, and not a vestige of Mogul sovereignty remained in India at the end of fourteen years. The throne of Delhi was restored to the Afghans. Humayoon made the best of his way with his few remaining adherents to Sinde, where he spent eighteen months in fruitless negotiations with its chiefs. He then resolved to throw himself on the protection of Maldeo, the powerful Rajpoot prince of Marwar, but on approaching the capital, found the raja more disposed to betray than to succour him. The wretched emperor endeavoured to cross the desert to Amercote, and was subjected to incredible hardships during the march. The son of Maldeo, eager to revenge the intrusion of the emperor and the slaughter of kine in his territories, pursued him with the utmost rigour. At length Humayoon reached Amercote with only seven mounted attendants, and it was in these wretched circumstances that his queen, who had nobly shared with him all the disasters of this journey, gave birth to a son, afterwards the illustrious Akbar, destined to raise the Mogul empire to the pinnacle of greatness. After another series of reverses,

Birth of Akbar, 1542.

Humayoon was obliged to quit India, and seek an asylum at Candahar.

Five years' brilliant reign of Shere Shah, 1540—1545.

Leaving Humayoon across the Indus, we turn to the progress of Shere Shah, who now mounted the throne of Delhi, and established the Soor dynasty. While he was combating the emperor, Bengal revolted, as a matter of course, but was speedily reduced to subjection. In 1542 he conquered the province of Malwa, and in the succeeding year reduced the fortress of Raisin, remarkable for its unfathomable antiquity, and for the honour of having been erected, according to local tradition, by the great national hero of the Ramayun. It was here that his reputation was tarnished by the only stain ever attached to it. The Hindoo garrison had surrendered on terms, but the Mahomedan doctors assured him that, according to the precepts of the Koran, no faith was to be kept with infidels, and the infidels were, therefore, slaughtered almost to a man. In 1544 Shere invaded Marwar with 80,000 men. It was defended by a body of 50,000, and by its own sterility. Through the artifice of letters intended to be intercepted, he contrived to raise suspicions regarding his chiefs in the mind of the raja, and thus induced him to retire from the contest; but one chief, indignant at this distrust, fell on the emperor's force with 12,000 men with such fury as to expose him to the greatest peril; and the emperor, alluding to the barrenness of the country, said that "he had nearly lost the empire for a handful of millet." Soon after, the capture of Chittore placed Rajpootana at his feet, and he proceeded to the attack of Calinjer, one of the strongest fortresses in Bundlecund, but was killed by the explosion of a magazine as he was superintending the batteries.

His death, 1545, and character.

Thus prematurely ended the career of Shere Shah. As he inflicted the greatest humiliation on the Moguls, the historians of their party have treated him as a usurper, and loaded his memory with obloquy. But his right to the throne was as valid as that of the Tartar adventurer Baber, and in

both cases it was equally based on the decision of the sword. But the kingdom which he gained by conquest, he governed with the greatest beneficence, and the brief period of five years in which he held supreme power, is the most brilliant in the annals of India. He was a man of consummate ability, distinguished not less by his military exploits than by the triumphs of his civil administration. Though incessantly engaged in the field, he found time for a complete reform of every branch of the government, and his civil institutions survived his dynasty and became the model of those of Akbar. He constructed a grand trunk road from the banks of the Indus to the bay of Bengal, through a distance of 2,000 miles, and planted it with trees, and adorned it with wells and caravanseras, at short distances, for the convenience of travellers, and erected mosques for the benefit of the devout. He appears to have been the first prince who established a mounted post for the conveyance of the mails. At the end of three centuries, his stately mausoleum of Sasseram, the place of his birth and of his burial, continues to recall the remembrance of his grandeur and his glory to the mind of the traveller.

Reign of his son and nephew, 1554.

His eldest son was set aside by the nobles for imbecility, and his second son, Jelal Khan, was raised to the throne under the title of Selim Shah. After quelling a dangerous rebellion by his promptitude and vigour, he was enabled to pass nine years in tranquillity, indulging his hereditary taste for public works; and if his reign had extended over a longer period, we should probably have heard little or nothing of a Mogul dynasty. It was the profligacy of his successor that brought the son of Baber again to India. He was the brother of Selim, and after having murdered his son, mounted the throne, and is generally known in history simply by the name of Adili. He was remarkable only for his ignorance and prodigality, and exhibited all those purple-born vices which, in India, presage the fall of a dynasty. But the ruin of this royal

Hemu sustains the throne.

house was retarded by the matchless talents of Hemu, a Hindoo, originally a shopkeeper, whose figure is said—but only by Mogul historians—to have been as mean as his origin. Adili having exhausted his treasury by profligate waste, began to resume the jaygeers of his Patan nobles, and they went one by one into insurrection. Five independent sovereignties were forthwith established in the dominions under the crown, till nothing was left to it, except some of the districts around the metropolis. Hemu presented a bold front to these difficulties, and had succeeded in reducing two of the rebels, when the aspect of affairs was at once changed by the appearance of Humayoon on the banks of the Indus.

Progress of Humayoon after leaving India.

We left this prince a refugee at Candahar in 1543, where his adverse fortune still continued to pursue him. The hostility of his brother obliged him to retreat, and he sought shelter in Persia, the throne of which was then filled by Shah Tamasp, the second of the Sophi dynasty, who directed that he should be received with royal hospitality in his progress, but did not condescend to give him an interview for six months. The fugitive prince was subjected to all the humiliating caprices of a despot and a bigot, for Tamasp was an intolerant Shea, and regarded the Soonees with more than the usual measure of polemical hate. His father had invented a peculiar cap—the kuzelbash—as an emblem of religious distinction, and Humayoon was required to place it on his head in the presence of the Persian monarch, though the courtly historians of the Mogul dynasty speak with much reserve on this subject. He was also required to sign an engagement to embrace and to enforce the Shea creed, and to cede the frontier provinces of Afghanistan to the Persian crown. The Persian monarch then furnished him with a body of 14,000 horse, with which he marched to Candahar, and captured it after a siege of five months, making it over, with all the treasure found in it, to Morad Mirza, the Persian

prince. On his death, which happened soon after, Humayoon entered the city as a friend, but put the greater portion of the Persian garrison to the sword, an act of perfidy which has fixed an indelible stain on his memory. Having thus obtained possession of Candahar, he marched to Cabul and established his authority in that province, but had to maintain a protracted struggle with his brothers, in which he was alternately victorious and defeated. His brother Kamran at length fell into his hands, and to his disgrace, he ordered the sight of the unfortunate prince to be extinguished.

Conquest of Afghanistan by Humayoon, 1545.

He crosses the Indus and remounts the throne, 1555.

After ten years of incessant warfare, the increasing confusion at the capital of India tempted Humayoon to make a bold stroke to regain the throne. He crossed the Indus in 1555, and obtained a complete victory over Secunder Soor, who had usurped the imperial authority at the capital, and who was posted at Sirhind with a body of 80,000 men. In this battle the young Akbar gained his first laurels. Leaving the young prince in the Punjab to watch the movements of the usurper, Humayoon hastened to Delhi, and mounted the throne he had lost fifteen years before. But before he could recover the dominions attached to it his career was brought to a close by a fatal accident. Six months after he had entered Delhi, while descending the steps of his library, he heard the muezzin's call to prayer, and stopped to repeat the creed, and sat down. As he endeavoured to rise, leaning on his staff, it slipped on the polished steps, and he fell over the parapet, and four days after closed his chequered life, at the age of forty-nine.

His death, 1556.

Accession of Akbar, 1556.

Akbar, the greatest prince of the dynasty of Baber, whose genius raised the empire of the Moguls to the summit of renown, was only thirteen years and three months of age when the death of Humayoon placed him upon the throne, which he continued to adorn for fifty years. He was the contemporary of Queen Elizabeth,

his reign having begun two years before, and ended two years after hers; and thus, by a memorable coincidence, this period of half a century has been rendered as illustrious in the annals of England as of India. During the minority of Akbar, the regency continued in the hands of Byram Khan, a Turkoman, the companion of Humayoon in all his vicissitudes, and the greatest captain and statesman of the age, but a man of austere manners and stern bigotry. Hemu, the Hindoo general of Sultan Adili, was employed in quelling a rebellion in Bengal when he heard of the death of Humayoon, and conceiving fresh hopes from that event deposited the emperor at Chunar, and moved up with an army of 30,000 men which was swelled to 100,000 as he advanced. Agra and Delhi opened their gates to him, and so completely were the commanders in Akbar's army confounded by the rapidity of his successes, that they entreated their master to abandon India and return to Afghanistan. Byram alone advised an immediate and vigorous attack, and Akbar, though only a stripling, seconded his ardour. The two armies met at Paniput, and the destiny of India was a second time decided on that field. Hemu, after prodigies of valour, was completely defeated, and conducted, bleeding from his wounds, to the tent of Akbar. Byram urged him to secure for himself the religious merit of slaying an infidel, but the generous youth refused to imbrue his hands in the blood of a gallant and now helpless foe, and Byram struck off the head of the captive with one stroke of his scymetar.

Defeat of Hemu, 1556.

It was the military talent of Byram, and the vigour of his measures, which had seated Akbar on the throne, but the minister had grown too big for a subject. So great indeed was his power and influence that for four years after his accession, Akbar felt himself a mere cypher in his own dominions. Such thraldom was intolerable to a high spirited prince, and when he had reached the age of eighteen he resolved to throw off the yoke. On the plea of the sudden illness of his mother, he repaired abruptly to Delhi,

Arrogance and fall of Byram, 1560.

and immediately issued a proclamation announcing that he had taken the government into his own hands, and that no orders were to be obeyed but those which issued from himself. Byram felt that his power was slipping away, and endeavoured to regain it, but he had alienated all the public officers by his haughty demeanour, and in the time of his adversity found that he was without a friend. He retired to Nagore, giving out that he was proceeding on pilgrimage, but he lingered there in the hope of receiving some gracious message from his master. Akbar, however, discharged him from all his offices, and requested him to hasten his departure. Stung by this indignity, he assembled an army, and marched against the imperial troops. He was signally defeated, and constrained to throw himself on the mercy of the emperor. As the fallen minister entered the royal tent, with his turban humbly suspended on his neck, and cast himself at the feet of the prince whom he had cherished from his cradle, Akbar hastened to raise him, and seated him on his right hand, investing him with a robe of honour, and offering him the choice of any post in the empire. The pride of Byram, who had been the instrument of erecting the Mogul throne a second time in India, led him to prefer a retreat to Mecca, and he accordingly proceeded to the sea coast, but was assassinated on the route by an Afghan, whose father he had put to death.

Akbar his own master at eighteen.

Akbar was now his own master, at the age of eighteen, but he was surrounded with difficulties which would have broken a spirit of less energy. For some time after its establishment, the dynasty of the Moguls was weaker than any which had risen to power since the Mahomedans first crossed the Indus. It was not connected with any large and powerful tribes beyond that river, ready to support the progress of their countrymen. It had no resources in reserve. Akbar's army was simply an assembly of mercenaries drawn together by the hope of plunder from the various countries of Central Asia. His officers were only a band of adventurers, bound to his family by no ties of here-

ditary loyalty, and more disposed to carve out kingdoms for themselves, as other adventurers had done for five centuries, than to unite in building up a Mogul empire. Their ambition had been effectually curbed by the iron despotism of Byram, but blazed forth on his removal, the effect of which soon became visible in the growth of disorders. In the fourth year of his reign, Akbar extended his authority along the banks of the Ganges to Jounpore; the son of the last king, Adili, advanced to recover his dominions, and was defeated by Zeman Khan, but that general, despising the youth of his sovereign, withheld the royal share of the booty, and manifested such a spirit of independence, that Akbar was obliged to take the field, and reduce him to obedience.

Revolt of Akbar's generals, 1560—1567.

Adam Khan, another of Akbar's generals, was sent to expel the Afghâns from Malwa, but after defeating their general, he determined to keep the fruits of his victory to himself. Akbar marched against him in person, and accepted his submission, but he soon after requited this lenity by stabbing the vizier when at prayers in a room adjoining that occupied by the young king. For this atrocious deed Akbar ordered him to be thrown headlong into the Jumna. Abdoolla Khan, a haughty Uzbek, who had been received into the Mogul service, with many of his countrymen, was then entrusted with the government of Malwa, but within a twelvemonth raised "the standard of revolt." Akbar came down upon him with promptitude, and drove him ignominiously to seek shelter in the kingdom of Guzerat. This event created great discontent in the minds of the Uzbek officers, who were induced by the arts of Abdoolla to believe that Akbar was animated with a hereditary hatred of their tribe and had formed a resolution to disgrace them. The spirit of disaffection spread rapidly through the Mogul army. Asof Jah, one of its generals, had been sent to subjugate the little Hindoo principality of Gurra on the Nerbudda. It was then under the regency of the princess Doorgawuttee, renowned no less for her beauty than

Heroism of a Hindoo princess, 1564.

her valour. She led her army in person against the invader, and maintained the conflict with the greatest heroism till she received a wound in her eye. The troops, missing her command, began to give way, when she, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy, seized the weapon of the elephant driver and plunged it into her own bosom. Her exploits are still a favourite theme with the Hindoo bards. The booty obtained by this capture consisted of a hundred jars of gold coin, independently of jewels and gold and silver images, and Asof Jah appropriated the largest portion of it to his own use and then joined the hostile confederacy, which now included the most eminent of Akbar's generals.

Revolt of Akbar's brother, 1566.

The danger of the emperor was extreme. It was as much a struggle for the throne, as the battle of Paniput, and the question at issue was, whether the empire should be Mogul or Uzbek. Akbar's detachments were repeatedly defeated, but he maintained the conflict with unflinching resolution for two years. Just at this critical juncture, his brother Hakim ungratefully took advantage of his embarrassments, and endeavoured to wrest the province of Lahore from the crown. Akbar was obliged to quit the pursuit of the Uzbeks to meet this new revolt, which, however, he succeeded in crushing at once. On his return to the south, he found that the revolted generals had obtained possession of the districts of Allahabad and Oude, and were preparing to advance on the capital. The rains had set in, when all military operations are generally suspended; but he did not hesitate to march against them, and by the promptitude and vigour of his attack, completely broke the strength of the confederacy, and, at the age of twenty-five, had the happiness of seeing his authority firmly established throughout his dominions. Nothing gives us a higher idea of the real greatness of Akbar's character, than the conflict which, at so early an age, he successfully maintained against his own mutinous troops and officers.

Akbar's authority fully established, 1567.

Baber, with a liberality of spirit foreign to every preceding conqueror, had determined to strengthen his government by matrimonial alliances with the Hindoos. He encouraged his son Humayoon to espouse a daughter of Bhugwan Dass, the raja of Jeypore. Akbar, following his father's example, allied himself with the same house, as well as with the ruling family of Marwar, or Joudhpore. At the same time he conferred an office of high dignity at his court on the raja of Jeypore. Thus the purest Hindoo blood was mingled with that of the Mahomedan conquerors, and the princes of Rajpootana gloried in these imperial alliances as conferring additional dignity on their families. But the orthodox house of Chittore, wrapped up in its religious pride and exclusiveness, disdained any such connection, and even excommunicated the rajas of Jeypore and Marwar; though Bappa, the founder of that family, considered by his countrymen as the "sun of Hindoo dignity," married Mahomedan wives without number, and left a hundred and thirty circumcised children.

Matrimonial alliances with the Rajpoot princes.

Akbar, having reduced his military aristocracy to submission, determined to chastise the raja of Chittore for having given encouragement to the king of Malwa. The throne was then filled by Oody Sing, the degenerate son of the renowned Rana Sunga. On the approach of the Moguls, he fled to the hills, and left the defence of his capital to Jeymul, the Rajpoot chief of Bednore, esteemed by his countrymen the bravest of the brave. Akbar, with a powerful artillery, made his approaches in the most scientific mode, closely resembling the practice of modern Europe. The siege of Chittore was protracted by the genius and valour of Jeymul, but he was at length slain by a bolt from the bow of Akbar, while inspecting the ramparts. His death deprived the garrison of all confidence, and they determined to sell their lives as dear as possible. The women threw themselves on the funeral pile of the raja, and the men rushed frantically on the weapons of the Moguls, and perished

Attack on the raja of Chittore, 1568.

to the number of 8,000. With that generosity of character which distinguished Akbar, he erected a statue to the memory of his heroic foe in the most conspicuous place of his palace at Delhi. The fall of Chittore—which from that period was abandoned for the new capital, Oodypore, called by the founder after his own name—was considered the most fatal blow which had fallen for ages on that royal house. The remembrance of this event has been perpetuated throughout India by a most remarkable practice. Akbar estimated the golden ornaments taken from the Rajpoots at seventy-four maunds and a-half. The numerals, 74½, were therefore deemed accursed. The Rajpoots, and more particularly the Marwarees, are now the largest and most enterprizing mercantile community in India, and their commercial correspondence bears the impress of these figures, signifying that "the sin of the slaughter of Chittore is invoked on any one who violates the secrecy of the letter." The practice has now become universal throughout India.

Capture and abandonment of Chittore, 1568.

Conquest of Guzerat, 1572.

Akbar's next enterprize was one of greater magnitude. The province of Guzerat, enlarged by the conquests of Bahadoor Shah about forty years before this period, and enriched by maritime commerce, was estimated to yield a revenue of five crores of rupees, and to be equal to the support of 200,000 troops; but it had been a prey to faction since his death. Four weak and profligate monarchs had filled the throne in thirty-six years. The distraction of the kingdom had been increased by the arrival of the Mirzas, as they are styled by the native historians, a family connected with Akbar by the ties of blood, who had revolted against his authority, and, having been driven out of his dominions, transferred their intrigues to Guzerat. Etimad Khan, originally a Hindoo slave, who now managed the government in the name of Mozuffer the Third, seeing no other mode of quelling the factions in the country, invited Akbar to take possession of it. The emperor proceeded with a powerful army to Puttun, where that feeble monarch advanced to meet

him, and resigned his crown without an effort; and Guzerat, after two centuries and a-half of independence, was again annexed to the crown of Delhi. As soon, however, as Akbar returned to his capital with a large portion of his army, Mirza Hussein, the most turbulent of the brothers, raised a new revolt, and the imperial generals were reduced to great straits, and obliged to act on the defensive. The rains had set in, but Akbar was ready for action at all seasons. He immediately dispatched a force of 2,000 choice cavalry from Agra, and followed it with 300 of his own guards, marching, in that season, no less than four hundred and fifty miles in nine days. The rapidity and vigour of his movements confounded the rebels; they suffered a signal defeat, and the subjugation of the province was completed.

Orissa conquered by the Afghans, 1550.

The attention of Akbar was next directed to the recovery of Bengal, but before narrating this expedition, it is necessary to advert to the fortunes of the neighbouring kingdom of Orissa. That country had been governed by the family of the Guju-putees, or lords of the elephant, from a very remote period of Hindoo history. About 400 years before the time under review, the throne was occupied by the dynasty of the Gunga-bungsus. The princes of this race expended the revenues of the country in the erection of the most magnificent temples, and extended their authority from the river Hooghly to the Godavery, and on one occasion carried their arms as far south as Conjeveram, in the vicinity of Madras. A little before the period of Akbar's accession, the king of Golconda, who was endeavouring to extend his power over the Hindoo tribes on the sea coast, attacked the king of Orissa, Mookund Rao, the last of his race; at the same time, Soliman, the king of Bengal, sent his general Kala-pahar with a large body of Afghan cavalry, to invade it from the north. The valour of the raja was of little avail; he was defeated and slain in 1558, and this venerable Hindoo monarchy, which had never before felt the shock of a Mahomedan invasion, was extinguished, and

the Afghans parcelled the country out in jaygeers among themselves. The native inhabitants, who had enjoyed the undisturbed exercise of their religion from time immemorial, were now to taste the bitterness of persecution. Kala-pahar was a brahmin by birth, but had embraced the religion of the Prophet to obtain the hand of a princess of Gour, and now became a relentless oppressor of his former creed. So terrific did he appear to the Hindoos, that it was popularly reported that the legs and arms of the idols dropped off at the sound of his awful kettle-drum. He made every effort to root out Hindooism; he persecuted the priests, and confiscated the religious endowments which had accumulated during twenty generations of devout monarchs; he pulled down the temples, and erected mosques with the materials, and seized the image of Jugunnath, which he committed to the flames on the banks of the Ganges.

Akbar invades Bengal, 1576.

The attention of Akbar was drawn to Bengal, even while he was engaged in the subjugation of Guzerat. Under the successor of Shere Shah, the Afghan governor had assumed independence, and four kings reigned in Bengal during a period of thirty years, of whom the most distinguished was Soliman, the conqueror of Orissa. In the height of his prosperity, he had the wisdom to acknowledge the supremacy of the emperor. But his successor, Daood Khan, a debauchee and a coward, who ascended the throne in 1573, finding himself at the head of an army which was estimated, by oriental exaggeration, at 140,000 infantry, 40,000 cavalry, and 20,000 guns of all sizes, considered himself a match for Akbar, and while he was engaged in Guzerat attacked and captured a fort above Ghazeepore. Akbar immediately ordered a large army to proceed to the conquest of Bengal. Ghazeepore, which was strongly garrisoned, submitted after a brave resistance, and the king fled to Orissa, where he made one bold stand for his throne. He was defeated, but allowed to retain Orissa, as a feudatory of Delhi. The year after, on the withdrawal of a portion of the imperial

troops, he invaded Bengal, but was defeated and slain, and his head sent to the emperor. With Daood Khan, in 1576, terminated the line of Afghan kings in Bengal, who had reigned in succession over it for two hundred and thirty-six years. During the sovereignty of these foreigners, not only was every office of value bestowed on their countrymen, but the whole of the land was parcelled out among them in jaygeers, and the natives of the country were employed only as managers, or cultivators, of the estates.

Revolt of the Mogul officers, 1577.

The jaygeers of the discomfited Afghans were seized by the victorious Mogul officers. Akbar was resolved, however, to introduce the same fiscal economy into Bengal which he had established in other provinces. But when his revenue officers called on the Mogul jaygeerdars to account for the revenues they collected, and to furnish a muster of the troops they were bound to maintain, they rose in a body in Bengal and Behar, and 30,000 of Akbar's finest cavalry appeared in arms against him. His new conquest was for the time lost, and the spirit of disaffection spread to the neighbouring province of Oude. Finding it difficult, in this emergency, to trust any of his Mogul officers, he sent an army of Rajpoots, under the celebrated Hindoo raja Toder Mull, who succeeded in giving a severe blow to the revolt; but the war languished for a time, and was terminated by Azim Khan, whose success was owing as much to the offer of a compromise, as to the vigour of his arms. The Afghans in Orissa took advantage of this confusion, and recovered their footing in the lower provinces of Bengal. The great Rajpoot raja Man Sing, the near relative of the emperor, was sent to quell this formidable revolt, which was not effected without great difficulty; and it was not till the year 1592, after a dozen battles and seventeen years of conflict, that the authority of Akbar was conclusively established in a province which, a century and a half later, was at once and finally conquered by Clive in one decisive action.

Destruction of Gour, cir. 1560. It was a short time previous to the invasion of Bengal by Akbar, that the ancient city of Gour was depopulated and abandoned, after having existed more than twenty centuries. It was admirably situated on the confines of Bengal and Behar for the government of both these provinces; it had been the capital of a hundred kings, by whom it was successively adorned with the most superb edifices. It extended along the banks of the Ganges, and was defended from the encroachments of the river by a stone embankment, not less than fifteen miles in length. This magnificent city, the seat of wealth and luxury, was suddenly humbled to the dust by some pestilential disease, which has never been satisfactorily explained. The establishments of government were transferred, in the first instance, to Tondah, and then to Rajmahal.

Conquest of Cashmere, 1587. The next important event in the reign of Akbar was the conquest of Cashmere, by his brother-in-law, the raja of Jeypore, when the Mahomedan king of that province was enrolled among the nobles of the court, and this lovely valley, the paradise of Asia, became the summer retreat of the emperors of Delhi. The attempt which Akbar was required to make, soon after, to curb the highland tribes around the plain of Peshawur, proved far more arduous. These wild mountaineers, of whom the Eusufzies and the Khyberees were the most considerable and most turbulent, had been for ages the plague of every successive ruler of the province. It was their hereditary belief that the fastnesses of the mountains had been bestowed on them by the Creator, to enable them to levy contributions on the industry of the plains. Every form of conciliation and coercion had been employed in vain to restrain their inroads. On this occasion Akbar sent an army against them, under the joint command of his foster brother, and his great personal friend and favourite, the Hindoo raja Beerbull. Their troops were decoyed into the defiles and cut off, and, to the infinite regret of the emperor, Beerbull was among the slain. So complete

was the disgrace, that according to the historian of this reign, of 40,000 horse and foot, who entered the hills, scarcely an individual escaped. Such wholesale destruction would appear incredible, if we had not witnessed an example of it in the same scene in our own day. The task of subjugating them was then committed to the rajas Toder Mull and Man Sing, who established military posts in the hills, and cut off the supplies of the mountaineers from the plains, and thus imposed some restraint on their violence. They became, however, as troublesome a century after, in the days of Aurungzebe, as they had been in the time of Akbar, and it is only since the establishment of British authority at Peshawur, that they have felt themselves in the presence of a master.

Conquest of Sinde and Candahar, 1591—94.

Akbar, having no other war on his hands, proceeded to annex the kingdom of Sinde to his dominions, and soon after reconquered the province of Candahar. Thus, after a series of conflicts, which extended over a period of twenty-five years, Akbar saw himself the undisputed monarch of all his hereditary territories beyond the Indus, and of all the principalities which had ever belonged to the crown of Delhi, north of the Nerbudda, and it only remained to extend his authority over the Deccan. A brief notice of the events in that region, during the sixteenth century, will form a suitable introduction to the Mogul expedition, on which Akbar now entered.

History of the Deccan in the 16th century.

It has been stated in a previous chapter that on the decline of the Bahminy kingdom, the governors of the different provinces threw off their allegiance, and that at the period of Baber's invasion, five separate kingdoms had been established in the Deccan, at Beejapore, Ahmednugur, Golconda, Beder, and Berar. Of these Beder, the most insignificant, was gradually absorbed by its more powerful neighbours.

The kingdoms of Beder and Berar.

Berar was scarcely of more weight in the politics of the Deccan, and was extinguished about the year 1572 by the Nizam Shahee ruler of Ahmednugur. The kingdom of Golconda,

which was sometimes called Telingana, as comprising the districts of that extinct Hindoo monarchy, was consolidated by Koolee Kootub Shah, who claimed homage on the ground of being lineally descended from Japhet, the son of Noah. His reign extended over sixty years, during which he was employed, as he delighted to say, "in spreading the banners of the Faith, and reducing the infidels from the borders of Telingana to Masulipatam and Rajahmundry." Year after year he took the field against the Hindoos, reducing their villages to ashes, and turning their temples into mosques. Though the kings of Golconda mixed freely in the intrigues of the two other princes of the Deccan, and were always ready to enter the lists against them when plunder or territory was to be gained, their attention was more particularly directed to the subjugation of the Hindoo districts lying between the eastern border of their kingdom and the Bay of Bengal.

Kingdom of Golconda.

Kingdoms of Beejapore and Ahmednugur.

The two states of Beejapore and of Ahmednugur, called the Adil Shahee, and the Nizam Shahee, which bordered on each other, were incessantly engaged in mutual hostility. Within the circle of those kingdoms was included the region inhabited by the Mahrattas, the rise and importance of whose power is to be attributed primarily to the perpetual warfare in which these royal families were involved. As early as 1499, we find a body of 5,000 Mahrattas enlisted in the service of one of them, and throughout the sixteenth century, their armies were strengthened by Mahratta contingents, consisting of five, ten, and sometimes even twenty thousand troops. Not a few of the Mahratta families, which subsequently rose to distinction, traced the origin of their dignity to these appointments. There was as yet no bond of national unity among them, and their mercenary weapons were sold to the highest bidder, even though their own countrymen might be in the opposite ranks. As the object of the kings of the Deccan was to inflict the greatest amount of havoc on their

opponents, the aid of men who were bandits by birth and profession, must have been invaluable.

The Hindoo kingdom of Beejuynugur.

To the south of the three Deccan kingdoms, lay the territories of the great Hindoo monarch of Beejuynugur, who exercised authority, more or less complete, over all the Hindoo chiefs in the south. The kings of this race had incessantly waged war with the powerful Bahminy sovereigns, and on the extinction of their power, were always engaged either in alliance or in war with some one of the Deccan kings, the ally of one year being frequently the foe of the next. The revenues of Beejuynugur, which were said to have been enriched by the commerce of sixty seaports, on both coasts, enabled the king to maintain a force with which no other single state was able to cope. Ram Raja, the reigning monarch in the middle of the sixteenth century, had recently wrested several districts from Beejapore; he had also overrun Telingana, blockaded the capital, and constrained the king to make large concessions. His growing power gave just alarm to the Mahomedan kings of Beejapore, Ahmednugur, Golconda, and Beder, and they resolved to suspend their mutual jealousies and form a general confederacy to extinguish it. This was nothing less than a conflict for supremacy between the Hindoo and the Mahomedan powers in the Deccan. Ram Raja, then seventy years of age, called up to his aid all his Hindoo feudatories as far as Ceylon, and was enabled to assemble an army, consisting, on the most moderate computation, of 70,000 horse. 90,000 foot, 2,000 elephants, and 1,000 pieces of cannon. The great and

Battle of Tellicotta, 25 Jan., 1565.

decisive battle was fought on the 25th of January, 1565, at Tellicotta, about twenty miles north of Beejuynugur, and terminated in the total defeat and capture of the raja, and the slaughter, according to the Mahomedan historian, of 100,000 infidels. The aged raja was put to death in cold blood, and his head was preserved as a trophy at Beejapore, and annually exhibited to the people for two hundred years on the anniversary of his death. The

capital was plundered of all its treasures, and gradually sunk to insignificance. The power of the Hindoos in the Deccan was irretrievably broken, but the confederate monarchs were prevented from following up their victory by mutual dissensions, and the brother of the raja was thus enabled to save some portion of the territory, and to establish his court at Penconda. The capital was subsequently transferred to Chundergiree, which has been rendered memorable in the history of British India as the town where, seventy-four years after the battle of Tellicotta, the descendant of the raja granted the English the first acre of land they ever possessed in India, and on which they erected the town of Madras.

The Portuguese during the 16th century.

During the sixteenth century, the Portuguese made little effort to extend their conquests into the interior of the country. They were content with being masters of the sea, from which they swept all the fleets of India and Arabia, and with the monopoly of the commerce between Europe and India. There are, therefore, few events of any consequence in their history. It was about thirty years after they had landed at Calicut that they determined to obtain possession of the harbour of Diu at all hazards. A large expedition was fitted out, consisting of 400 vessels, with a force of 22,000 men, of whom 5,000 were said to be European soldiers and sailors; but it was defeated by the artillery and the extraordinary talents of Roomy Khan, the great engineer officer of the Guzerat army. Here it may be useful to note, that the Portuguese, on their arrival in India, found the native princes furnished with artillery fully equal to their own, and in some cases superior to it. The engineers in the native armies, who came from Constantinople and Asia Minor, and usually bore the title of Roomy, were skilled in every branch of the science of artillery, and few battles were fought without the aid of field guns. It was Roomy Khan who, in 1549, cast, or constructed, the great gun at Ahmednugur—now called the Beejapore gun—the calibre of which was 28 inches and the weight 40 tons. In 1535,

Bahadoor Shah, the king of Guzerat, was driven from his throne by Humayoon, and took refuge at Diu, where the Portuguese, after their repulse, had succeeded in forming an establishment. There he entered into a treaty with them, granting permission to erect a fortress in return for a contingent of 50 European officers and 450 soldiers, with whose aid he was enabled to reconquer his kingdom on the departure of Humayoon. The disputes which arose regarding this fortification, and the tragic event in which they ended, have been already narrated. The fortress was completed in 1538, and contributed to strengthen the power of the Portuguese, who had now become the terror of the eastern seas through the superiority of their naval equipments. It became, therefore, the interest of all the Mahomedan powers in Asia to extirpate them, and the Grand Seigneur at Constantinople entered into a combination with the king of Guzerat to accomplish this object. The Turkish admiral sailed from Suez to Diu, with a force of 7,000 men and a superb train of artillery. A body of 20,000 men co-operated with them from Guzerat. Sylveira, the Portuguese Commander, had only a force of 600 men, but defended himself with such gallantry, that the seige is one of the most remarkable transactions in the history of the Portuguese. When, at length, forty alone of the garrison remained fit for duty, and there was no prospect before them but an unconditional surrender, the Mahomedans, exhausted by this long and fruitless seige, drew off their troops, and Diu was saved.

Combined attack on Goa, and the Portuguese settlements, 1570.

The greatest event of this century, however, was the seige of Goa, in 1570. The kings of Beejapore and of Ahmednugur formed a coalition with the Zamorin of Calicut to expel the Portuguese from the coasts of India, each of the confederates engaging to attack the settlements contiguous to his dominions. Ali Adil came down upon Goa, with a force of 100,000 infantry, 35,000 cavalry, and 350 pieces of cannon; Don Luis, the governor, was able only to muster 1,600 men, including

the monks; but he obliged the king to raise the seige with ignominy, after ten months had been wasted, and 12,000 of his troops slain. Mortiza Nizam Shah of Ahmednugur, descended the ghants with an army scarcely less numerous, composed of natives of Turkey, Persia, Khorasan, and Ethiopia, and attacked the port of Choul, in the neighbourhood of Bombay, but he was repulsed at all points, and 3,000 of his troops perished in the assault. The Zamorin, at the same time, laid seige to the port of Chale, but it was rescued from danger by the timely arrival of reinforcements from Goa. The Portuguese, having thus repulsed the most formidable attempt made on their settlements since they became a power in India, constrained the discomfited princes to sue for peace, and retained their supremacy in the Indian ocean, and on the coasts of India to the close of the century, when they had to encounter the rivalry of the new power introduced by the Dutch, to which they were obliged eventually to succumb.

Akbar's views on the Deccan, 1595.

Akbar, having consolidated his empire to the north of the Nerbudda, resolved to conquer the Deccan. There can be little doubt that this movement was dictated simply by the "lust of territorial aggrandisement," and that it is open to all the censure which English historians have bestowed on it. Yet aggression had been the normal principle of every government, since the Mahomedans "turned their face to India," in the year 1000; perhaps even long before that period; and if the enterprise of Akbar had been crowned with success, it would doubtless have been an incomparable benefit to India.

It is difficult to imagine a more deplorable condition than that of the unhappy provinces of the Deccan during the whole of the sixteenth century. The kings seem to have had no occupation but war. Scarcely a year passed in which the villages were not subjected to rapine, and the fair fruits of industry blasted by their wanton irruptions. No government, however tyrannical, could have inflicted anything like the wretchedness occasioned by these unceasing devastations.

So inestimable is the blessing conferred by a strong government in India, in putting down intestine war, and giving repose and confidence to the people, that it appears mere affectation to inquire into the origin of its rights, which, in nine cases out of ten, will be found to be as valid as those of the power it subverts.

Akbar enters the Ahmednugur state, 1595.

On the death of Boorhan Nizam Shah, the king of Ahmednugur, in 1595, four rival factions arose in the state, the most powerful of which called in the aid of the Moguls. Akbar, who had long been watching an opportunity of interfering in the affairs of the Deccan, readily accepted the overture, and lost no time in sending forward two armies. But before they could reach the capital, another revolution had placed the power of the state in the hands of Chand Sultana. She was a princess of Ahmednugur, who had been bestowed in marriage in 1564 on Ali Adil Shah of Beejapore, to bind him to the alliance then formed by the Mahomedan kings against the raja of Beejuynugur. On his death she returned to her native country, and now assumed the regency on behalf of her nephew, Bahadoor Nizam Shah.

The celebrated Chand Sultana, 1595.

This celebrated woman, the favourite heroine of the Deccan, the subject of a hundred ballads, determined to defend the city to the last extremity, and persuaded the rival factions to merge their differences in a combined effort against the common foe. The Moguls had constructed three mines, two of which she countermined; the third blew up, carrying away a portion of the wall, and many of her principal officers prepared to desert the defence. The Sultana flew to the spot in full armour, with a veil over her countenance, and a drawn sword in her hand, and recalled the troops to a sense of their duty. Combustibles of every description were thrown into the breach, and so heavy a fire was directed against it, that the besiegers were constrained to retire. During the night she superintended in person the repairs of the wall. It is a popular and favourite tradition, that when the shot was exhausted, she loaded the guns with

copper, then with silver, and then with gold, and did not pause till she had begun to fire away her jewels. The allies whom she had importuned to aid her, were now approaching; the Mogul camp began to be straitened for provisions, and prince Morad, the son of Akbar, who commanded the army, offered to retire on obtaining the cession of the province of Berar. Chand, having little confidence in the fidelity of her troops or of her allies, was constrained to accede to these terms.

She cedes Berar to the Moguls, 1596.

Battle of Sonepat, Jan., 1597.

Within a year of this convention, the kings of Beejapore, Ahmednugur, and Golconda formed an alliance to drive the Moguls back across the Nerbudda, and brought an army of 60,000 men into the field. An action was fought at Soneput, which lasted two days, without any decisive result, though both parties claimed the victory. Dissensions at length broke out among the officers of the Mogul army, and Akbar, who had resided for fourteen years in the countries bordering on the Indus, felt the necessity of proceeding in person to the Deccan. On reaching Boorhanpore he sent an army to lay seige again to Ahmednugur. The government of the Sultana, which she had maintained with great difficulty, was now distracted by factions, and feeling the city to be incapable of defence, she endeavoured to make the best terms in her power with the Moguls. The populace, inflamed by her enemies, rushed into her chamber and put her to death. But they soon had reason to deplore their ingratitude. The Mogul army stormed and plundered the city, giving no quarter to the defenders, and the young king and his family were sent as state prisoners to Gwalior.

Capture of Ahmednugur, July, 1600

The fall of the capital did not, however, ensure the submission of the kingdom, and it was not incorporated with the Mogul dominions till thirty-seven years after this period. Soon after, Akbar deprived his vassal, the king of Candesh, of all authority, and that kingdom was re-annexed to the Mogul empire.

Last four years of Akbar's reign, 1601—1605.

This was the last event of importance in the reign of Akbar, who returned to the capital in 1601. The close of his life was embittered by the misconduct of his son Selim, then thirty years of age, a prince not altogether destitute of that talent, which for a century and a half distinguished the family of Baber, both in the cabinet and in the field, but violent and vindictive, and the slave of wine. The emperor had declared him heir to the throne, but he was so impatient to occupy it, as to take up arms against his father, which, however, he was induced to lay down by a fond and paternal letter, and a grant of the provinces of Bengal and Orissa. He had contracted an inveterate hatred of Abul Fazil, one of the most illustrious officers of Akbar's camp, and after the death of raja Beerbull, his most intimate friend. Prince Selim caused him to be assassinated by a zemindar of Bundlecund. Abul Fazil was equally eminent as a general, a statesman, and a historian; and Akbar is indebted for his renown in no small degree to the pen of his noble historian.

Akbar's death, 13th Oct, 1605.

In September, 1605, Akbar began to feel the approach of death. The profligacy of Selim had induced an influential body of courtiers, among whom was raja Man Sing, to contemplate the elevation of his son Khusro, a minor, to the throne; but Akbar nipped the project in the bud. He summoned his courtiers and his son around his couch, and ordered the prince to bind his favourite scymetar to his side as a token that the empire had been bequeathed to him, and recommended his personal friends and the ladies of the harem to his protection. Then, addressing the omrahs around him, he asked forgiveness for any offence he might have given them; a priest was soon after introduced, and Akbar repeated the confession of faith, and died in the odour of Mahomedan sanctity, though he had lived the life of a heretic.

Akbar was not only the ornament of the Mogul dynasty

Akbar's character and civil institutions.

but incomparably the greatest of all the Mahomedan rulers of India. Few princes ever exhibited greater military genius or personal courage. He never fought a battle which he did not win, or besieged a town which he did not take; yet he had no passion for war, and as soon as he had turned the tide of victory by his skill and energy, he was happy to leave his generals to complete the work, and to hasten back to the more agreeable labours of the cabinet. The glories of his reign rest not so much on the extent of his conquests, though achieved by his personal talent, as on the admirable institutions by which his empire was consolidated. The superiority of his civil administration was owing not to his own genius alone, but also to the able statesmen whom, like Queen Elizabeth, he had the wisdom to collect around him.

His religious views and his toleration.

In the early period of his career he was a devout follower of the Prophet, and was at one time bent on a pilgrimage to his tomb, the aspiration of every Mahomedan; but about the twenty-fifth year of his reign he began to entertain sentiments incompatible with fidelity to the Koran. He professed to reject all prophets, priests, and ceremonies, and to take simple reason as the guide of his thoughts and the rule of his actions. The first article of his creed was, "There is no God but one, and Akbar is his prophet." Whether he ever intended to become the founder of a new creed may admit of controversy; but all his measures tended to discourage the religion of the Prophet. He changed the era of the Hejira; he restrained the study of Arabic and of Mahomedan theology; and he wounded the dearest prejudices of the faithful by proscribing the beard. Nothing but the ascendancy of his character, and his dazzling success in war and in peace, could have preserved the throne amidst the discontents produced among his own chiefs by these heterodox measures. Among a people with whom persecution was considered the most sacred of duties, Akbar adopted the principle not only of religious toleration, but, what has been found a more difficult task even in the most enlightened Christian com-

munities, of religious *equality*. He formed the magnanimous resolution of resting the strength of his throne on the attachment of all his subjects, whether they belonged to the established religion of the state or not. He disarmed the hostility and secured the loyalty of the Hindoos by allowing them to share the highest civil offices and military commands with the Mahomedans, and thus placed himself a century ahead of the Stuarts in England. He abolished the odious jezzia, or capitation tax; he issued an edict permitting Hindoo widows to marry; he discouraged suttees to the full extent of his power, and he abolished the practice of reducing captives to slavery.

His revenue reforms.

Under the supervision of the great financier of the age, the raja Toder Mull, Akbar radically remodelled the revenue system of the empire He caused all the lands to be measured according to a uniform standard, and with the most perfect instruments procurable. He divided them, according to their character and fertility, into three classes, and fixed the demand of the state generally at one-third the annual produce, and then commuted it to a money payment. He abolished all arbitrary cesses, and made the settlement for ten years, and with the cultivators themselves, to the exclusion of all middlemen. It is questionable therefore whether, during his reign, there were any zemindars in India at all, and whether those who afterwards assumed their prerogatives were, at this period, and for more than a century after, anything beyond mere officials employed in collecting the public dues.

Division of the empire.

The whole empire was divided into fifteen provinces, or soubahs:—Cabul, beyond the Indus; Lahore, Mooltan, Delhi, Agra, Oude, Allahabad, Ajmere, Guzerat, Malwa, Behar, and Bengal; and south of the Nerbudda, Candesh, Berar, and Ahmednugur. Each province was placed under a soobadar, who was entrusted with full powers, civil and military, and assisted by a dewan, or minister of finance, who, though nominated by the emperor, was

accountable to the soobadar. The military duties of each province were entrusted to a fouzdar, who also commanded the police force, and was responsible for the peace of the country. Civil law was administered by a Mahomedan chief justice, assisted by local judges, and the decisions were invariably in accordance with the precepts of Mahomedan law.

His military system and the economy of his court.

The military system of Akbar was the least perfect of all his arrangements, and his extraordinary success is to be attributed more to the weakness of his opponents than to the superiority of his own army. He perpetuated the great military error of paying the commanders for their soldiers by the head, which created an irresistible temptation to make false musters, and to fill the ranks with ragamuffins. The same organization which pervaded the various offices of state was carried into all the establishments of his court, down to the department of the fruits and the flowers, the perfumery, the kitchen, and the kennel, which were regulated to the minutest details under the personal directions of the emperor. Every establishment was maintained upon a scale of imperial magnificence. He never had fewer than 12,000 horses and 5,000 elephants in his own stables, independently of those required for hawking, and hunting, and war. During his progress through the provinces his camp was a great moving city, and the eye was dazzled by the sight of the royal tents surmounted with gilt cupolas, and enriched with the most gorgeous ornaments.

CHAPTER V.

JEHANGEER AND SHAH JEHAN, 1605—1658.

Jehangeer ascends the throne, 1605.

ON the death of Akbar, Prince Selim quietly stepped into the throne, at the age of thirty-seven, and adopted the title of Jehangeer, the conqueror of the world. The great empire to which he suc-

ceeded was in a state of profound tranquillity, and there was no spirit of insubordination among the military or civil chiefs. His proceedings on his accession served not only to calm the fears which his previous misconduct had excited, but even to win him the esteem of his subjects. He confirmed his father's ministers in their posts, abolished some vexatious taxes, and, though strongly addicted to wine himself, prohibited the use of it, and endeavoured to control the indulgence in opium. He replaced the Mahomedan creed on the coin, and manifested a more superstitious attention to the precepts of the Prophet than his father had done. At the same time he courted popularity by affording easy access to the complaints of his people. But a subject of disquietude soon arose.

Rebellion of his son Khusro, 1606.

His son Khusro had become the object of his detestation by the effort made during the last days of Akbar's life to place him on the throne by some of the leading courtiers, and the youth now fled to the Punjab, where he collected a body of 10,000 men. He was promptly pursued and captured, and the emperor exhibited the brutality of his nature by causing seven hundred of his adherents to be impaled alive, while the wretched Khusro was carried along the line to witness their agony.

Parentage and marriage of Noor Jehan.

The event which exercised the greatest influence on the conduct of Jehangeer for sixteen years was his marriage with the celebrated Noor Jehan. She was descended from a noble Persian family of Teheran, but her father, having been reduced to poverty, determined to follow the prevailing current of emigration, and proceed to India to repair his fortunes. During the journey, his wife gave birth to a daughter under the most calamitous circumstances, though they were subsequently embellished with all the romance of poetry when she became the Queen of the East, and was in a position to reward the pens of poets. A merchant who happened to be travelling on the same route afforded assistance to the family in their exigency, and, on reaching the capital, took the father into his own employ, and,

perceiving his abilities, introduced him to the service of Akbar, in which he gradually rose to eminence. His daughter, Noor Jehan, received all the accomplishments of education which the capital of India could afford, and grew up into a woman of the most exquisite beauty. In the harem of Akbar, which she occasionally visited with her mother, she attracted the attention of the prince Selim, who became deeply enamoured of her. But she had been already betrothed to a Turkoman of the noblest descent, who had acquired the title of Shere Afgun, from having killed a lion singlehanded. He had served with renown in the wars of Persia and India, and was distinguished no less by his gigantic strength than by his personal valour. Akbar refused to annul the nuptial engagement, even in favour of his own son, and, in the hope that absence would allay the passion of the prince, appointed Shere to a jaygeer in the remote district of Burdwan.

Noor Jehan raised to the throne, 1611.

But Jehangeer had no sooner mounted the throne than he determined to remove every obstacle to the gratification of his wishes, and Shere perished in a scuffle, which was not believed to be accidental. His lovely widow was conveyed to Delhi, when Jehangeer offered to share his throne with her; but she rejected the offer with disdain, and was consigned to the neglect of the harem, where she had leisure for reflection and repentance. Anxious to regain Jehangeer's attachment, she contrived to throw herself in his way, and her youth and beauty did not fail to rekindle his former passion. Their marriage was celebrated with extraordinary pomp, and she was clothed with honours greater than any Sultana had ever enjoyed before. The emperor went so far as to associate her name with his own on the coin, in these graceful terms: "By order of the emperor Jehangeer, gold acquired a hundred times additional value by the name of the empress Noor Jehan"—the light of the world. Her talent for business was not less remarkable than her personal charms, and her influence was beneficial to the interests of the state. She softened the natural cruelty

of the emperor's disposition, and constrained him to appear sober at the durbar, however he might indemnify himself for this restraint in the evening. Her taste imparted grace to the splendour of the court, at the same time that she curtailed its extravagance. Her brother, Asof Khan, was raised to a post of high dignity, and her father, who was placed at the head of affairs, proved to be one of the ablest of viziers.

Malik Amber and the state of Ahmednugur.

The city of Ahmednugur, as previously stated, was captured by Akbar, on the murder of Chand Sultana, in 1600, and the royal family was consigned to the fortress of Gwalior; but the kingdom was not subdued, though Akbar designated it as one of the soobahs of his empire. Malik Amber, the chief of the Abyssinian nobles of the court, assumed the control of public affairs, and placed a kinsman of the late king on the throne. He attacked the Mogul forces with vigour, and erected the national standard on what had been regarded the impregnable rock of Dowlutabad; he founded a new capital at the foot of it, at Kirkee, and adorned it with many splendid buildings. Malik Amber stands foremost in the history of the Deccan as a statesman of surpassing genius, who maintained the sinking fortunes of the Ahmednugur dynasty for twenty years with the greatest energy. Planting himself on the borders of the Deccan, he continued to repel the encroachments of the Moguls, and repeatedly drove their armies back to Boorhanpore. He availed himself to so great an extent of the services of the Mahratta chieftains, that he may be said to have cradled their power; more especially was it under his banner that Shahjee, the father of Sevajee, laid the foundation of his greatness. With a natural genius for war, he was still more remarkable for the assiduity with which he cultivated the arts of peace; and it is the revenue settlement he brought to perfection which has given lasting celebrity to his name. He was the Toder Mull of the Deccan.

Jehangeer attacks Amber, 1612.

In the year 1612 Jehangeer resolved to recover the footing which the Moguls had lost

in the Deccan, and two armies, the first commanded by Abdoolla Khan, were sent against Malik Amber. But he avoided a general engagement, while his light Deccanee horse hovered on the flanks and rear of his enemy, cut off his communications and supplies, and harassed him by night and by day so inexorably as to oblige him to sound a retreat, which the Abyssinian soon converted into a disgraceful flight. The second army met the Ahmednugur troops in the flush of victory, and wisely retraced its steps across the Nerbudda.

Subjugation of Oodypore, 1614.

These disappointments were balanced by success against Oodypore. It has been already stated that Oody Sing, the feeble rana of Chittore, the founder of the town of Oodypore, was obliged by the generals of Akbar to seek refuge in the hills. He was succeeded by his son, Pertap Sing, who is still idolized by his countrymen for the heroism with which he repelled the attacks of the Moguls, and preserved the germ of national independence in his wild fastnesses. Although the Rajpoot rajas of Jeypore and Marwar were ranged against him, he succeeded in recovering the greater portion of his hereditary dominions before the death of Akbar. His son Omrah, equally valiant, but less fortunate, after having repeatedly defeated the Mogul troops, was, in the year 1614, attacked by Shah Jehan, the gallant and favourite son of the emperor, and compelled to acknowledge fealty to the throne of Delhi. That generous prince, himself, on the mother's side, of Rajpoot blood, restored the territories of the fallen prince, but only as the vassal of the emperor, at whose court, however, he was assigned the highest post of honour. Thus was the independence of the family of the great ranas of Chittore, which had been maintained for eight hundred years, at once extinguished.

Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, 1615.

The tenth year of the reign of Jehangeer was rendered memorable by the arrival of Sir Thomas Roe, as ambassador from James, the king of England, to solicit privileges for the East India Company, then recently

established. He landed at Surat, and proceeded by slow journeys to the court, then held at Ajmere, where he was received with greater distinction than had been conferred on any foreign envoy. Of the result of his embassy we shall have occasion to speak hereafter; here it may be sufficient to state, that he was fascinated by the oriental magnificence of the court, which so completely eclipsed the tinsel pomp of that of his own master. He was dazzled with the profusion of gold and jewels on every side, and, not least, with those which adorned the foreheads of the royal elephants. But he perceived little comfort among the subjects of the empire, who were ground down by the extortions of the public servants of every grade. The emperor dispensed justice daily in person; but he retired in the evening to his cups, which he never left while there was any reason left in him. He was maudlin and easy, and his courtiers were universally corrupt and unprincipled. Military discipline had decayed after the death of Akbar, and the only good soldiers in the army were the Rajpoots and the Afghans. There was a large influx of Europeans at the capital, and so greatly was Christianity encouraged, that one of the emperor's nephews had embraced it, and the Emperor himself had an image of Christ and the Virgin in his rosary.

Second campaign against Malik Amber, March, 1617.

The attention of Jehangeer was now called to the state of affairs in the Deccan, and he marched down to Mandoo to superintend the war, which he entrusted to the command of Shah Jehan, at the same time declaring him the heir of the throne. The prosperity of Malik Amber had created a feeling of envy at the Ahmednugur court, and alienated many of his confederates. On the approach of Shah Jehan, he was still further weakened by the defection of the king of Beejapore, and was obliged to enter into negotiations, and cede the fortress of Ahmednugur, together with all the conquests he had made from the Moguls. But within four years he renewed the war, and succeeded in driving the imperial forces across the Taptee.

Shah Jehan was again selected by his father to command the army; but he accepted the charge only on condition that his brother Khusro should accompany him. Before he reached the province of Malwa, Malik Amber had crossed the Nerbudda and burned down the suburbs of Mandoo. But success still attended the arms of Shah Jehan. He contrived to corrupt the principal Mahratta chiefs in the army of Malik Amber—some of them by the most extravagant offers—and that general, deserted by his own officers, suffered a defeat, and was obliged to purchase peace in 1621, by a large sacrifice of treasure and territory.

Death of Khusro, and intrigues of Noor Jehan, 1621.

Just at this juncture Khusro died, and the misfortunes of Shah Jehan began. Noor Jehan had bestowed her daughter by Shere Afgun on Shariar, the youngest of the emperor's sons, and determined to raise him to the throne, in the hope of perpetuating that unbounded influence which she had enjoyed under Jehangeer. Her father, the vizier, whose virtue and wisdom had maintained order in the empire, notwithstanding the dissoluteness of the Court, had recently died, and the salutary restraint of his authority being removed, she was at liberty to indulge her passions without control. The Persians had recently reconquered Candahar, and, in the hope of removing Shah Jehan out of her way, she persuaded Jehangeer to employ his great military talents in regaining it. Shah Jehan was alive to the danger of quitting India, and began to stipulate for securities. His demands were regarded as treasonable; all his jaygeers and estates were sequestered, and he was driven into rebellion by the force of circumstances.

Mohabet hunts Shah Jehan through the country, 1623.

To meet this difficulty, Mohabet, the ablest general in the emperor's service, was drawn from his government of Cabul, and directed to march against Shah Jehan. A partial and indecisive action took place in Rajpootana, and the prince unwisely determined to retire to the Deccan. This retrograde movement was attended, as might have been expected, with the most fatal conse-

quences. Malik Amber and the kings of Beejapore and Golconda refused him any assistance; his own troops began to desert, and he was obliged to retreat to Telingana. On reaching Masulipatam he marched along the coast to Bengal, took possession of that province and of Behar, and advanced to Allahabad. Mohabet, who was lying at Boorhanpore, on hearing of his sudden appearance on the Ganges, hastened to encounter him; his raw levies were speedily dispersed, and he fled a second time to the Deccan. Malik Amber was now at issue with the emperor, and made common cause with his fugitive son, and they advanced together to the siege of that city. But Mohabet pursued the prince with such energy that he was fain to seek reconciliation with his father, which, however, was not granted but on the hard condition of surrendering all his forts, and giving two of his sons as hostages.

Noor Jehan contracts a hatred of Mohabet, 1625.

A new scene now opens in this eventful drama. Mohabet, the greatest subject of the empire, and the prime favourite of the emperor, had acquired additional importance by his brilliant success; but as he manifested no disposition to second Noor Jehan's views regarding the succession of Shariar, her confidence was capriciously converted into hatred, and she resolved on his ruin. Jehangeer was at this time on his way to Cabul. A charge of embezzlement during his recent campaign was trumped up against Mohabet, and he was summoned to the court to answer it. He came, but with a body of 5,000 Rajpoots who were devoted to his service. He had recently betrothed his daughter to a young noble without obtaining the usual consent of the emperor. Jehangeer, on hearing of the circumstance, ordered the youth into his presence, and in a fit of brutal rage directed him to be stripped naked and whipped with thorns in the presence of the court, and confiscated all his estates. When Mohabet approached the royal encampment he was refused admission. He could not fail to perceive that his ruin was determined on, and he resolved to strike

Mohabet seizes the Emperor, 1626.

the first blow. The following morning the army crossed the Hydaspes, and Jehangeer, who had not recovered from the debauch of the previous night, remained behind with a slender guard. Mohabet proceeded to the emperor's tent and seized his person. Jehangeer was frantic at this indignity, but seeing himself absolutely in the power of his general, was persuaded to mount an elephant, with his goblet and his cup-bearer, and proceed to Mohabet's tent.

Noor Jehan fights for his rescue, 1626.

Noor Jehan crossed the bridge in disguise and joined the imperial army, and the next morning proceeded to the rescue of her husband. The bridge having been destroyed during the night by the Rajpoots, she advanced at the head of the troops to a ford which had been discovered, mounted on a lofty elephant, with a bow and two quivers. The struggle was long and deadly. She endeavoured to animate the soldiers by her exertions, but they were driven into the stream by the shower of balls, rockets, and arrows which the Rajpoots poured into the files massed on the narrow ford. Noor Jehan's elephant reached the opposite bank, but was assailed with redoubled fury; her guards were cut down, and among the hundred missiles aimed at her one struck the infant son of her daughter whom she carried in her lap. The elephant driver was killed, the animal was wounded, and carried down the stream in endeavouring to recross it, and the life of the empress was in imminent danger. When her female attendants came shrieking to the spot, they found the howda, or seat, covered with blood, and the empress employed in extracting the arrow and binding up the wound of the infant.

Noor Jehan feigns reconciliation; the Emperor's release, 1626.

After this vain attempt at a rescue the empress yielded to necessity, and joined Jehangeer, who continued a captive in the hands of his revolted subject, but was treated with the greatest respect. Mohabet, now in full command of the army, crossed the Indus, and encamped at Cabul. There, her fertile genius, by a

series of skilful manœuvres, contrived gradually to turn the tables on him; he saw that his position was becoming daily more insecure, and made offers for a reconciliation. Noor Jehan condoned his revolt on condition that he should proceed in pursuit of her other enemy, Shah Jehan. That prince, after making his submission to the emperor, had fled to Sinde, intending to seek an asylum in Persia, but he was still a formidable obstacle to her views. But when his prospects were at the lowest ebb they began to brighten. Mohabet, dreading a reign of weakness and violence if Shariar succeeded to the throne through the influence of Noor Jehan, resolved to assist the efforts of Shah Jehan, and, instead of proceeding to attack him, joined him with the troops yet remaining under his standard.

The empress on hearing of this defection ordered him to be hunted through the empire, and set a price on his head. But her power was at once annihilated by the death of Jehangeer, whose constitution was completely exhausted by a life of indulgence, and who expired at Lahore on the 28th of October, 1627, in the sixtieth year of his age. He was contemporary with James the First of England. Not only was their reign of the same duration, but there was a remarkable accordance in their characters. They were both equally weak and contemptible, both the slaves of favourites and of drink, and, by a singular coincidence, they both launched a royal decree against the use of tobacco, then recently introduced into England and India, and, in both cases, with the same degree of success.

Death and character of Jehangeer, 1627.

On the death of Jehangeer, Asof Khan, the brother of Noor Jehan, and one of the chief ministers, determined to support the claims of Shah Jehan on the same ground which had influenced the decision of Mohabet. He despatched a messenger to summon him from the Deccan, and at the same time placed the empress dowager under restraint. Her influence expired with the

Accession of Shah Jehan, 1627.

death of her husband, and she retired from the world with an annuity of twenty-five lacs of rupees a-year, and passed the remaining years of her life in cherishing his memory. Shariar, who was at Lahore, was attacked and defeated by Asof Khan, and put to death by order of Shah Jehan. That prince lost no time in coming up from the Deccan, in company with Mohabet Khan, on whom, as well as on Azof Khan, the instruments of his elevation, he bestowed the highest dignities. He was proclaimed emperor, at Agra, early in 1628, and began his reign by indulging that passion for magnificence in which he eclipsed all his predecessors. The anniversary of his accession was commemorated by a display of incredible extravagance. A suite of tents was manufactured of the finest Cashmere shawls, which, in the figurative language of his biographer, it required two months to pitch. In conformity with the usage of the ancient Hindoo sovereigns he was weighed against silver, and gold, and jewels, which were then lavished among the courtiers. Vessels filled with gems were waved over his head and emptied on the floor for a general scramble. The expense of this festival was computed at a crore and a half of rupees.

He indulges his passion for magnificence.

Condition of the three Kingdoms in the Deccan.

The first eight years of the reign of Shah Jehan were occupied with military operations in the Deccan. Thirty years had now elapsed since Akbar crossed the Nerbudda, and overran the kingdom of Ahmednugur, on which occasion he added to his titles that of king of the Deccan. The genius of Malik Amber had, however, succeeded in restoring the independence of the kingdom, together with much of its ancient power; but he had recently died, at the age of eighty. The king of Beejapore, Ibrahim Adil Shah, renowned for the grandeur of his edifices, had died about the same time, bequeathing a full treasury and an army of 200,000 men to his successor. The king of Golconda was engaged in extending his authority over his Hindoo neighbours to the east and south. Of all the acquisitions made by Akbar south of the Nerbudda, there remained to the crown of

Delhi only the eastern half of Candesh, and the adjoining portion of Berar.

War in the Deccan occasioned by the revolt of Khan Jehan Lodi, 1629—1637.

The war in the Deccan on which Shah Jehan now entered, and which continued for eight years, was occasioned by the revolt of Jehan Lodi. He was an Afghan of ignoble birth, but great ability and arrogance, who had raised himself to eminence in the Mogul army, and obtained the office of governor of the Deccan, from which post he was removed to Malwa under the new reign. He was invited to court, and treated apparently with great distinction; but, having imbibed a suspicion that the emperor, to whom he was personally odious, had a design on his life, he quitted the capital abruptly with the troops which had accompanied him. He was immediately pursued, and overtaken on the banks of the Chumbul; and it was only with extreme difficulty that he was able to elude pursuit and reach the Deccan; but, having once reached it, he was joined by numerous adherents, and supported by the king of Ahmednugur. The emperor considered the revolt so serious as to order three armies, each consisting of 50,000 men, into the field, and even to proceed to the Deccan in person. Jehan Lodi was driven out of Ahmednugur by the Mogul force, and sought the aid of the king of Beejapore, which was peremptorily refused him. His friend, Shahjee, the Mahratta chieftain, considering his cause desperate, abandoned it, and joined the Moguls; for which act of treachery he was rewarded with a title of nobility. Meanwhile his allies, the Ahmednugur troops, were defeated by the Moguls at Dowlutabad; and Jehan Lodi, overwhelmed by the defection of his friends and the discomfiture of his allies, fled northward, in the hope of reaching Afghanistan, and rousing his countrymen; but he was brought to bay on the borders of Bundlekund, and, after performing prodigies of valour with the small body of 400 men who still adhered to his fallen fortunes, was struck dead by a Rajpoot, and his head sent as an acceptable offering to Shah Jehan.

Termination of the war in the Deccan.

The war with Ahmednugur did not, however, cease with the cause of it. The king, Mortiza Nizam, had fallen out with his minister, Futch Khan, the son and successor of Malik Amber, and thrown him into prison; but, having experienced nothing but mortification in his struggle with the Moguls, released him, and restored him to power. The Abyssinian rewarded the kindness of his master by causing him and his adherents to be assassinated; and, having placed an infant on the vacant throne, offered his submission to the emperor. Meanwhile, the king of Beejapore, alarmed at the progress of the Mogul arms, determined to make common cause with Ahmednugur, and thus brought down the imperial armies on his own territories. It would be wearisome to go into a detail of all the intrigues, the treachery, and the vicissitudes which form the history of this period of five years. Suffice it to record that the war with Beejapore was conducted with varied fortunes; that the king baffled the Mogul generals by creating a desert for twenty miles around his capital, and depriving their armies of food, forage, and water; and that both parties, becoming at length weary of this war of fruitless desolation, listened to terms of accommodation. The result of this conflict of eight years may be thus summed up: the kingdom of Ahmednugur was entirely extinguished, after it had flourished a century and a half; a portion of its territory was ceded to Beejapore for a tribute of twenty lacs of rupees a year, and the remainder absorbed in the Mogul dominions; while the king of Golconda, overawed by the neighbourhood of the Mogul army, consented to pay an annual subsidy.

The Portuguese power in Bengal —1537.

We turn now to Bengal. At what period the Portuguese formed their first establishment in that province is not accurately known; but in the year 1537, the king, Mahmood, when pressed, as we have already stated, by the famous Shere Shah, invoked the aid of the Portuguese governor on the Malabar coast, and Samprayo, his admiral, entered the Ganges with nine vessels. Though they arrived

too late to afford him assistance, it is supposed that they formed a settlement in the neighbourhood of the great port of Satgong, at a place called Golin, or Gola, the granary, afterwards corrupted to Hooghly, where they continued to flourish for a hundred years. Towards the close of the century they appear to have formed another and larger settlement at Chittagong, where Gonzales is said to have held the district around it in subjection with the help of a thousand Europeans, two thousand natives, and eighty ships. So formidable was his power, that the Mogul viceroy made Dacca the seat of his government, in order more effectually to check his progress. With the command of the only two ports of the Gangetic valley, the power of the Portuguese in Bengal during the sixteenth century must have been an object of no little alarm to the Mogul authorities.

Hooghly. At Hooghly they had fortified their factory, and obtained the complete control of the commerce of the river, and the prosperity of Satgong began to wane under this rivalry. At the time when Shah Jehan, flying before Mohabet, in 1624, advanced from Masulipatam to Bengal, he besought the Portuguese chief at Hooghly, Michael Rodrigues, to assist him with some guns and artillerymen, but, as the governor had no confidence in the success of that rash enterprise, the request was refused. Six years afterwards when Shah Jehan had become emperor, a representation was made by the soobadar of Bengal that some European idolaters, who had been allowed to establish a factory in Bengal, had erected a fort and mounted it with cannon, and grown insolent and oppressive. Shah Jehan had not forgotten the repulse he received from Rodrigues at Hooghly in his adversity, and curtly replied, "Let the idolaters be immediately expelled from my dominions."

Capture of Hooghly, 1632. The viceroy lost no time in investing Hooghly, and, finding that it could not be carried by storm, undermined the defences. The great bastion was blown up; the Moguls rushed with fury into the breach, and slaughtered

more than a thousand Portuguese . Of three hundred vessels then in the river, it is stated that only three escaped. More than four thousand were made prisoners; the priests were forwarded to Delhi, and the most beautiful of the women reserved for the royal seraglio; the churches and images were demolished. By this blow, the power of the Portuguese in Bengal was irretrievably broken; and no vestige now remains of their former influence, save the few vocables they contributed to the language of the country, and the old church at Bandel, within sight of Hooghly, erected two centuries and a half ago. The Mogul viceroy directed that it should thenceforth be made the royal port of Bengal; all the public records and offices were removed to it from Satgong, and that city, which may be traced back to the days of the Cæsars, sunk into a little paper making hamlet.

Acquisition of Candahar, 1637—Ali Merdan—His canal.

In the year 1637 the emperor was gladdened by the unexpected recovery of Candahar, which had been so often lost and gained by the family of Baber Ali Merdan, the governor under the Persians, was driven into rebellion by the tyrannical proceedings of his sovereign, and made over the town and territory to the Moguls; after which he sought a refuge at the court of Delhi. He was received, as may well be supposed, with great honour by Shah Jehan, and subsequently employed in many military expeditions beyond the Indus. But his fame has been perpetuated in India by the great public works which he executed, and more especially by the canal, near Delhi, distinguished by his name, which has proved an incalculable blessing to the country it irrigates.

Military operations beyond the Indus—1644-47.

The military operations which were undertaken beyond the Indus, can scarcely be said to belong to the history of India. The emperors of the house of Baber retained the same ardent interest in all the political movements of the region from which they sprung, as the first and second George took in the fortunes of Hanover. India was, therefore, drained of men and money for the con-

quest or defence of those distant, and, as compared with India, unprofitable possessions. The son of the Uzbek ruler of Balkh had revolted against his father; the government was thrown into confusion, and Shah Jehan, who had enjoyed seven years of repose, could not resist the temptation of again prosecuting the dormant rights of his family on that remote province. Ali Merdan was sent across the Indus with a large army, and ravaged Budukshan, but was constrained, by the severity of the winter, to retreat. Raja Jugut Sing was then sent to conduct the war with 14,000 Rajpoots; and never did the chivalry of that race of warriors, and their sympathy with a tolerant and just government, shine more conspicuously than in this expedition. Regardless of Hindoo prejudices, they crossed the Indus, and surmounted the Hindoo Kosh, and encountered the fiery valour of the Uzbeks in that frozen region. To be near the scene of operations, Shah Jehan took up his residence at Cabul. His third son, Aurungzebe was also employed in these operations, and at first gained a great victory, but was soon after obliged to retire upon Balkh, and then to make a most disastrous retreat to Cabul, with the loss of a great portion of his army. The emperor was at length induced calmly to weigh the policy of continuing an expensive war in that distant quarter; and he had the moral courage to relinquish the enterprize.

The Persians retake Candahar, and three efforts made in vain to recover it, 1648.

The repose gained by abandoning Balkh was, however, of short duration. Shah Abbas, the king of Persia, having now attained his majority, came down on Candahar and retook it, after a siege of two months. Shah Jehan was resolved to recover it, and the following year Aurungzebe invested it for four months, but without success. Two years after, the vizier as well as the prince again invested the town with a larger force, but the attempt was a second time unsuccessful, and Aurungzebe was sent as viceroy to the Deccan. A third army was despatched in 1653, under prince Dara, the eldest son of the emperor, who was impatient to achieve success in

an expedition in which his ambitious brother had been twice foiled; but, though it set out at the precise moment which the royal astrologer had pronounced to be most auspicious, it was equally destined to disappointment. Thus terminated the third and last attempt of the Moguls to recover Candahar, of which they had held but a precarious possession since the days of Baber. The failure was followed by two years of repose, when Shah Jehan completed the revenue settlement in the Deccan, on which he had laboured for twenty years, and introduced the financial system of Toder Mull.

Renewal of the war in the Deccan, 1655.

The year 1655 marks the commencement of an important series of events;—the renewal of the war in the Deccan, which continued for fifty years to consume the resources of the Mogul empire, and served to hasten its downfall. During the twenty years of peace which followed the treaty with the king of Beejapore, in 1636, that prince had given his attention to the construction of those splendid palaces, mausoleums, and mosques which distinguished his reign; and to the conquest of the petty principalities in the Carnatic which had sprung out of the ruins of the Hindoo kingdom of Beejuyanugur. The tribute which he exacted at the same time from the king of Golconda, had been paid with punctuality, and that prince had manifested every disposition to cultivate the friendship of the emperor. There was no cause of difference with these rulers, and Shah Jehan appeared to be completely satisfied with the relation they maintained with his throne. But in 1653, Aurungzebe, after his second repulse from Candahar, was appointed to the Deccan, and determined to obtain an indemnity for his disappointment in the subjugation of the two kingdoms of Beejapore and Golconda.

Meer Joomla.

An unexpected event gave him the pretext he was seeking for an interference in their affairs. Mahomed, generally known by his title of Meer Joomla, then the chief minister of Abdoolla Kootub, king of Golconda, was born of indigent parents at Ispahan, the capital of Persia, and was placed

in the service of a diamond merchant, who took him to Golconda, and bequeathed his business to him. The enterprizing youth embarked in maritime trade, and amassed prodigious wealth, and came to be held in high estimation for his talents and probity in every Mahomedan court in Asia. He entered the royal service of Golconda, and gradually rose to the supreme direction of affairs. He led an army to the south, and extended the authority of the king over the chiefs who yet enjoyed independence; and it was while absent on this expedition that his son, Mahomed Amin, by some supposed act of disrespect, incurred the displeasure of his sovereign.

Meer Joomla—Attack of Golconda, submission of the king, 1656.

Meer Joomla solicited that consideration for his son, which he considered his own services entitled him to, but meeting with a refusal, made an appeal to Aurungzebe, which that prince was but too happy to take up. Under his influence, Shah Jehan was induced to send a haughty missive to Abdoolla to grant redress to the youth, which the king answered by placing him in confinement, and confiscating his father's estates. An order was then sent to Aurungzebe from Delhi to enforce compliance by the sword, and he entered upon the execution of it with that craft which was the prominent feature of his character through life. He assembled a large army, giving out that he was about to proceed to Bengal to celebrate the marriage of his son with the daughter of his brother, the viceroy of that province. He advanced towards Hyderabad with the most friendly professions, and the unsuspecting Abdoolla, prepared to welcome him with a magnificent entertainment, when he found himself treacherously assailed by the Mogul army, and constrained to seek refuge in the fortress of Golconda. A large portion of Hyderabad was burnt down, and the city subjected to indiscriminate plunder, by which the booty which Aurungzebe had destined to himself, fell to his soldiers. The king of Golconda, reduced to extremity by this sudden and unprovoked assault, was constrained to submit to the harsh terms imposed by Aurungzebe,—that he

should bestow his daughter on one of his sons, with a rich dowry, and pay up a crore of rupees, as the first instalment of an annual tribute. Shah Jehan, who had a conscience, remitted one-fifth of this sum, and, inviting Meer Joomla to Delhi, invested him with the office of vizier.

Asault on Beejapore, 1657.

Having thus reduced Golconda to submission, Aurungzebe resolved to attack Beejapore, and he had not long to wait for a pretext. Mahomed Adil Shah died in 1656, and bequeathed the kingdom to his son, a youth of nineteen, who mounted the throne without paying that homage which the emperor pretended to consider due to him. It was, therefore, given out that the youth was illegitimate, and that it belonged to the emperor to nominate a successor. The war which arose on this unwarrantable claim was, perhaps, a more wanton and heinous aggression than any to be found in the darkest annals of India. Meer Joomla, as commander-in-chief, and Aurungzebe, as his lieutenant, suddenly invaded the territories of Beejapore. The Mahratta chieftains in the service of that state, nobly rallied round the throne, but the abruptness of the irruption, rendered it impossible to collect a sufficient force—a large portion of the army being absent in the Carnatic—or to resort to the usual means of defence. The forts of Beder and Koolburga were captured, the country was laid waste with fire and sword, and the capital was invested. The king made the most humble supplications, and offered to purchase peace by the payment of a crore of rupees, or any sacrifice the prince might demand; but every offer was sternly rejected. The extinction of the dynasty appeared inevitable, when an event occurred in the north, which gave it a respite of thirty years. News came posting down to the Deccan that the emperor was at the point of death, and that the contest for the empire had begun. Aurungzebe was obliged to hasten to the capital to look after his own interests, and the siege of Beejapore was raised.

The four sons of Shah Jehan. Aurungzebe advances to Delhi, 1657.

Shah Jehan had four sons; Dara, the eldest, had been declared his successor, and admitted to a considerable share of the government. He had great talents for command, and an air of regal dignity; he was frank and brave, but haughty and rash. Soojah, the second son, the viceroy of Bengal, had been accustomed to civil and military command from his youth, but was greatly addicted to pleasure. The third, Aurungzebe, was the most able and ambitious, as well as the most subtle and astute member of the family; while Morad, the youngest, though bold and generous, was little more than a mere sot. Dara was a free thinker of Akber's school; Aurungzebe was a bigoted Mahomedan, and contrived to rally the orthodox around him by stigmatizing his brother as an infidel. The claims of primogeniture had always been vague and feeble in the Mogul dynasty, and the power of the sword generally superseded every other right; when, therefore, four princes, each with an army at his command, equally aspired to the throne, a contest became inevitable.

Soojah takes the field, 1657.

Soojah was the first in the field, and advanced from Bengal towards the capital. Morad, the viceroy of Guzerat, on hearing of his father's illness, seized the public treasure, and assumed the title of emperor. Aurungzebe, after having extracted a large supply of money from the king of Beejapore, granted him a peace, and advanced with his army to the northern boundary of his province. His object was to cajole Morad, whom he saluted as emperor, and congratulated on his new dignity, declaring that as for himself his only desire was to renounce the world and proceed on pilgrimage to Mecca, after he had liberated his father from the thraldom of the irreligious Dara. Morad was simple enough to believe these professions, and united his army to that of Aurungzebe on the banks of the Nerbudda, when the two brothers advanced towards the capital.

Dara defeats Soojah. Aurungzebe is victorious, and deposes Shah Soojah, 1658.

Dara prepared to meet both these attacks. He despatched raja Jey Sing, of Jeypore, to oppose Soojah, and raja Jesswunt Sing to encounter Aurungzebe. The selection of two Hindoo generals to command the armies which were to decide the fortunes of the Mogul throne affords strong evidence of the feelings of loyalty which the wise policy of Akbar had inspired. Just at this juncture Shah Jehan was restored to health and resumed the functions of government; but it was too late to quench the elements of strife. The imperial force came up with Soojah at Benares, and he was defeated, and obliged to fly to Bengal. The united armies of Aurungzebe and Morad encountered Jesswunt Sing near Oojein, and defeated him, and then advanced with 35,000 troops to the neighbourhood of Agra. Dara came out to meet them with a superior force, estimated at 100,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and 80 pieces of cannon. In the fierce and bloody battle which ensued, Dara was completely overpowered and fled from the field with a remnant of barely 2,000 men. The victorious Aurungzebe entered the capital, deposed his father, and assumed the whole power of the empire.

Character of Shah Jehan.

The character of Shah Jehan is aptly described by his native biographer. "Akbar was pre-eminent as a warrior and as a lawgiver. Shah Jehan for the incomparable order, and arrangement of his finances, and the internal administration of the empire." Though he drew a revenue of thirty crores of rupees annually from his dominions, which did not include the Deccan, it is generally asserted that the country enjoyed greater prosperity during his reign than under any of his predecessors; it has therefore been characterized as the golden age of the Mogul dynasty. This is a significant fact, since this prosperity cannot be attributed to any enlightened policy, or to any encouragement given by the emperor to the pursuits of industry; it was owing simply to that respite from the ravages of war, which afforded the provinces within the Indus scope for the development of their

resources. Shah Jehan was unquestionably the most magnificent prince of the house of Baber, and perhaps of any other Mahomedan dynasty. The pomp of his court, and the costliness of all his establishments almost stagger our belief; but with a treasury which received 600 crores of rupees during twenty years of peace, what might not a monarch do, who had only his own will to consult? In nothing was the splendour of his taste more manifest than in his buildings. It was he who founded the new city of Delhi, in which his castellated palace, with its spacious courts, and marble halls, and gilded domes, was the most attractive object. Of that palace the noblest ornament was the far-famed peacock throne, blazing with emeralds, rubies, diamonds, and the most costly stones, the value of which was estimated by a European jeweller and traveller at six crores of rupees. To him the country was indebted for the immaculate Taj Mehal, the mausoleum of his Queen, the pride of India, and the admiration of the world. But all his establishments were managed with such circumspection, that after defraying the cost of his expeditions beyond the Indus, and maintaining an army of 200,000 horse, he left in his treasury, according to his native historian, a sum not short of twenty-four crores of rupees.

CHAPTER VI.

AURUNGZEBE, 1658—1707.

Accession of Aurungzebe; his conduct towards his three brothers, 1658.

AURUNGZEBE having thus obtained possession of the capital and the treasury, threw off the mask. He no longer talked of a pilgrimage to Mecca, but at once assumed all the powers of government, and took the title of Alumgeer, the Lord of the

World. His father was placed in captivity in his own palace, yet treated with the highest respect; but though he survived this event seven years, his reign ended with his confinement. Aurungzebe did not, however, consider himself secure while there was a single relative left, who might disturb his tranquillity. As he had now no further use for Morad, he invited him to an entertainment, and allowed him to drink himself into a state of helplessness, when he was taken up and conveyed to the fortress of Agra. Dara, after his defeat near Agra, had escaped to the Punjab, where, with the resources of that province and of Afghanistan, he might possibly have made a stand had not Aurungzebe pursued him with promptitude, and obliged him to retreat to Mooltan, and thence to Guzerat. The emperor then quitted the pursuit, and hastened to encounter his brother Soojah, who was advancing a second time from Bengal to contest the throne. The battle between the brothers was fought near Allahabad, when Aurungzebe was for a time placed in extreme peril, by the treachery of raja Jesswunt Sing, who, in a fit of disappointment, had come to an accommodation with Soojah, and suddenly fell on the emperor's baggage. The constancy and valour of Aurungzebe, however, restored the day. At one period of the engagement his elephant became unmanagable from its wounds, and the emperor was on the point of descending from his seat, when Meer Joomla, who was by his side, exclaimed, "you descend from the throne," on which the legs of the animal were bound, and Aurungzebe continued to animate his troops by his presence. Soojah was completely defeated, and the emperor returned to Delhi, leaving his own son Mahomed, and Meer Joomla, to follow up the victory. They pursued the prince to Monghir, and from thence to Rajmahal, which he had made his capital, and adorned with noble edifices; but his pursuers gave him no respite and hunted him down to Dacca, and then out of Bengal. He took refuge, at length, with the King of Arracan, by whom he and his whole family were barbarously murdered.

Dara is captured and put to death, with his son, 1659.

Meanwhile, Dara having obtained aid from the governor of Guzerat was enabled to assemble an army and move up to join raja Jesswunt Sing, who was prepared to make common cause with him against the emperor. Aurungzebe, who dreaded this junction, employed all his devices to detach the raja from the alliance. Dissembling the resentment which his recent treachery at the battle of Allahabad had naturally excited, he wrote him a complimentary letter with his own hand, and conceded all the honours, the refusal of which had driven him into rebellion. Under the influence of these flatteries Jesswunt Sing deserted the cause of Dara, who was defeated, and driven to seek refuge with the raja of Jun, whom he had formerly laid under the greatest obligations. By that ungrateful chief he was received with apparent cordiality, and then betrayed into the hands of his vindictive brother, who ordered him to be paraded, with every token of indignity, through the streets of Delhi, where he had recently been beloved as a master. A conclave of Mahomedan doctors was then convened, who gratified the Emperor's wishes by condemning him to death as an apostate from the creed of the Prophet. His son Soliman, who had taken shelter with the raja of Sreenugur, by whom he was basely betrayed, was, like his father, exhibited in the streets of the capital, but in fetters of gold, and his noble bearing and deep calamity are said to have moved the spectators to tears. He and his younger brother, together with a son of Morad, were consigned to death in the dungeons of Gwalior.

Aurungzebe's dangerous illness, 1662.

It only remained now to dispose of Morad himself, who had lain in confinement for three years. To add insult to injury, he was subjected to a mock trial for some execution which he had ordered while viceroy of Guzerat, and condemned and executed. Thus, in the course of three years, had Aurungzebe, by a series of atrocious murders, secured, to all appearance, the stability of his throne, when his own life was threatened by an alarming

illness; and the edifice of his greatness, reared by so many crimes, was threatened with sudden destruction. While he lay helpless on his couch the court began to be filled with intrigues. One party espoused the cause of his son, Muazzim, another that of Akbar. Jesswunt Sing was advancing from Joudhpore, and Mohabet from Cabul, to liberate and restore Shah Jehan; but Aurungzebe, having passed the crisis of his disease, caused himself to be propped up in his bed, and summoned the officers of his court to renew their homage to him. His recovery dissolved the various projects to which his illness had given birth; and Muazzim had to wait forty-five years for the crown.

Meer Joomla's expedition to Assam, and his death, 1662.

A short time previous to the illness of the emperor, Meer Joomla, who had been appointed viceroy of Bengal, on the expulsion of Soojah, entered upon his unfortunate expedition to Assam, in the hope of adding that kingdom to the Mogul dominions. He assembled a large army and conveyed it up the Berhampooter in boats. The capital of the province having been mastered without difficulty, he sent a pompous despatch to the emperor with a report of his success, promising in the following year to plant the Mogul standard in the rich empire of China. The emperor was delighted with the prospect of treading in the footsteps of his renowned ancestor, Jenghis Khan, and ordered large reinforcements to Bengal. But a sad reverse was impending. The rains set in with extraordinary violence; the Berhampooter rose beyond its usual level, and the whole of the country was flooded; the supplies of the army were cut off; a pestilence, probably the Asiatic cholera, broke out in the camp; and Meer Joomla was obliged to retreat in haste and disgrace from the country, pursued by the exasperated Assamese. On his return to Bengal, he expired at Dacca, leaving behind him the reputation of one of the ablest statesmen, and of the greatest generals of that stirring period. Aurungzebe conferred all his titles on his son, Mahomed Amin, the youth who had been disgraced by the king of Golconda; and in the

letter of condolence sent to him, remarked "You have lost a father, and I have lost the greatest and most dangerous of my friends." Soon after the recovery of the emperor he was obliged to send an army to check the devastations committed by the Mahrattas in the Mogul provinces of the Deccan; and it becomes necessary, therefore, to pause and trace the origin and progress of this power, which rose to dominion on the ruins of the Mogul empire, and for more than a century governed the destinies of India.

Rise and progress of the Mahrattas.

The country inhabited by the Mahrattas, designated Maharastra in the Hindoo shastrus, is considered to extend from the Wurda on the east to the sea on the west; from the Satpoora range on the north to a line in the south drawn due east from Goa. The great feature of the country is the Syhadree mountains, more commonly called the Ghauts, which traverse it from north to south at a distance of from thirty to fifty miles from the sea, and rise to the height of four or five thousand feet above its level. The strip of land lying along the coast, at the foot of the mountains, is called the Concan. The inhabitants are of diminutive stature and vulgar in appearance, presenting a strong contrast to the noble figure of the Rajpoot; but they are sturdy, laborious, and persevering, and distinguished for cunning. This mountainous region was exceedingly difficult of access, and the strongest points had been improved by fortifications. For centuries the Mahrattas had been known chiefly as plodding accountants and village officers; and it was not before the sixteenth century that they were deemed worthy of notice by the Mahomedan historians. Their country was comprised in the dominions of the kings of Beejapore and Ahmednugur; and the noblest Mahratta families trace their distinction to the civil and military employments which they held under these two dynasties.

The Mahrattas trained to war.

These sovereigns were incessantly at war with each other, or with their neighbours; and they were happy to employ the Mahratta chieftains in raising

levies among their own hardy countrymen, each one commanding his own muster of free lances. Jaygeers, or lands given for maintaining a body of troops, were frequently granted for their support. Titles were likewise conferred upon many of the Mahratta chieftains, but they were generally ancient Hindoo appellations. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, seven Mahratta chiefs are enumerated as being ranged under the banner of Beejapore, and two—but of superior importance—under that of Ahmednugur. It was the wars which raged for a century in the Deccan, between the Kistna and the Taptee, that first taught the Mahrattas their own importance, and paved the way for their future predominance; but it was chiefly under Malik Amber that they made the most rapid strides towards political influence. A community of village clerks and husbandmen was thus transformed into a nation of warriors, and only required the appearance of some master spirit to raise it to empire. That spirit appeared in Sevajee.

Origin of Shahjee, the father of Sevajee.

Mallojee Bhonslay, an active captain of horse, was employed about the year 1600 in the service of the king of Ahmednugur. His wife, who had long been childless, offered her prayers and vows at the Mahomedan shrine of Shah Seffer; and the child to whom she gave birth was named Shahjee in gratitude to the saint. He was born in 1594, and his father sought an alliance in the patrician family of Jadow Rao. In after times, when the Mahrattas had become the arbitrers of India, the national historians endeavoured to trace the family of Mallojee from the rajas of Chittore, who claimed to be the lineal descendants of the great deified hero, Ramu; but at this period Jadow Rao spurned the alliance of so plebeian a family. Soon after Mallojee suddenly came into possession of a large treasure, acquired, doubtless, in the Mahratta mode; and he obtained from the venal court of Ahmednugur the jaygeers of Poona, Sopa, and several other places. No further objection was raised to the alliance, and the nuptials are said to have been graced by the presence of the

king of Ahmednugur. On the death of his father, in 1620, Shahjee succeeded to the jaygeer, and augmented his military force and importance, and entered into a close connection with Malik Amber. Nine years after, we find him espousing the cause of Jehan Lodi; but when the fortunes of that Afghan chief appeared to be on the wane, he deserted his cause and joined the Moguls, for which he was rewarded with the nominal honour of a commander of 5,000, and the substantial boon of a confirmation of his jaygeer. But Shahjee was speedily disgusted with the shuffling policy of the Mogul commanders, and again changed sides.

Places a prince on the throne of Ahmednugur, 1634.

On the capture of the young prince of Ahmednugur, in 1634, he considered himself strong enough to aspire to the regency, and raised another prince to the throne as the lawful heir of Nizam Shah. For three years he appears to have maintained a desultory warfare with the imperial generals, but was at length driven out of the country and obliged to seek refuge in the court of Beejapore, where his ability was known and appreciated; and he was entrusted with the command of an expedition to the Carnatic. His zeal and success were rewarded with the grant of extensive jaygeers in Bangalore, and the neighbouring districts where he conceived the design of establishing an independent Hindoo sovereignty, and resigned the petty jaygeer of Poona to his son Sevajee.

Birth and early life of Sevajee, 1627.

Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire, was born in 1627, and was sent, three years after, to reside with his mother at Poona, under the tutelage of Dadajee Punt—his father having taken a second wife. Dadajee managed the estate with the strictest economy as well as fidelity, and remitted the revenue with punctuality to Shahjee, but contrived to reserve a small sum annually at Poona. He watched over his youthful charge with assiduity, and is said to have given him an education suited to his station and prospects. Sevajee, however, was never able to read or write; but he was skilled in the use of

the bow and the sword, and the weapons employed in the hills; he was expert in all manly exercises, and, like his countrymen, an accomplished horseman. His tutor did not neglect his religious instruction, and Sevajee grew up a devout and rigid Hindoo, with a profound veneration for brahmins, and a hearty hatred of Mahomedans. His imagination was excited in youth by the perusal of the great epic poems of India, and he longed to emulate the exploits which are immortalized in them. At the age of sixteen he formed an association with youths of wild and lawless habits, and engaged in hunting or marauding expeditions, which made him familiar with all the paths and defiles of the tract which became the cradle of his power. Having trained the inhabitants of his native glens—the Mawullees—to arms and discipline, he began his career of ambition at the age of nineteen, by capturing Torna, a hill fort of very difficult access. In the succeeding year he erected a new fortress, to which he gave the name of Raigur. These proceedings did not fail to excite observation at Beejapore, and letters were sent to Shahjee in the Carnatic calling him to account for the doings of his son, but he replied that he had not been consulted by him, though he could not doubt that they were intended to improve the jaygeer. At the same time he remonstrated with Dadajee on the conduct of Sevajee, and the tutor failed not to reprimand his pupil; but, finding that he was bent on pursuing a course which appeared likely to injure the prospects of the family, fell a prey to anxiety. As his end approached he is said to have called Sevajee to his death bed, and urged him to continue the career on which he had entered; to protect brahmins, kine, and cultivators, and preserve the temples of the gods from violation.

Sevajee begins his career by capturing Torna, 1646.

Sevajee's progress; his father seized as a hostage, 1649.

Sevajee immediately took possession of the jaygeer, in his father's name, but employed the treasure which Dadajee had husbanded, as well as the resources of the district in augmenting his little army,

and in the course of two years extended his authority over thirty miles of territory. He attacked a convoy of treasure proceeding to Beejapore, and carried off three lacs of pagodas to his eyry in the mountains. In quick succession it was announced that he had captured seven other forts, and had, moreover, surprised the governor of Callian, and extorted the surrender of all his fortresses. The audacity of these proceedings raised the indignation of the Beejapore court and Shahjee, who managed all their recent acquisitions in the Carnatic, was held responsible for the proceedings of his son, though he pleaded, and with truth, that he had long ceased to possess any influence over his movements. Shahjee was treacherously seized by the Mahratta chief of Ghorepuray, and brought a prisoner to the capital, where he was threatened with a cruel death. To procure his release, Sevajee, then only twenty-two, memorialized the emperor, and offered to enter the imperial service, and it is not improbable that Shahjee owed his life to the representations made by the court of Delhi. He was, however, detained for four years as a hostage, until the increasing disorders in the Carnatic conquests constrained the king of Beejapore to restore the government of them to him. During his father's detention, Sevajee discreetly suspended his incursions, but on hearing of his release resumed his predatory and ambitious course, and, by an act of base treachery murdered the brother chieftains of Jaolee, and appropriated their lands to himself.

Sevajee's intercourse with Aurungzebe, 1657.

While Aurungzebe was engaged in the war with Beejapore, in 1657, Sevajee entered into correspondence with him, and professed himself a devoted servant of the throne of Delhi. He was thus enabled to obtain a confirmation of the territory he had wrested from Beejapore, and was encouraged to farther encroachments. But no sooner had Aurungzebe marched towards Delhi than Sevajee began to ravage the Mogul territories, and carried off three lacs of pagodas from the town of Joonere. For the more distant enterprizes to which

he aspired, he felt the necessity of an efficient body of horse, and he now began to make the most vigorous efforts to organize that light cavalry, which subsequently became the scourge of Hindostan. About the same time he enlisted his first body of Mahomedan troops, taking into his pay 700 Patans who had been unwisely discharged from the service of Beejapore; but he took the precaution of placing them under the command of a Mahratta officer. The success of Aurungzebe's efforts to obtain the throne gave just alarm to Sevajee, who sent an envoy to Delhi to express his deep regret for what had occurred, and his attachment to the throne; and he had the effrontery to offer to protect the imperial territories during the emperor's absence, asking only for the transfer of the Concan to himself. Aurungzebe, conceiving that the security of the Mogul districts would be promoted by giving encouragement to Sevajee, consented to his taking possession of the Concan. He lost no time in sending an army to occupy the province, but his troops were defeated with great slaughter, and he experienced the first reverse he had sustained since the beginning of his career.

The Concan ceded to him; his first reverse, 1659.

Afzul Khan is sent against him, and murdered, 1659.

The court of Beejapore was at length roused to a sense of the danger arising from the incessant encroachments of this aspiring chief, and Afzul Khan was sent against him with 12,000 horse and foot, and a powerful artillery, consisting of swivels mounted on camels, rockets, and other ordnance. He was a vain, conceited noble, and manifested the greatest contempt for his antagonist. Sevajee determined to defeat the object of the expedition by treachery. He professed the humblest submission to the king of Beejapore, and offered to surrender all his territories, if he might but be allowed to hope for pardon and acceptance. Afzul Khan was thrown off his guard by those artifices, and agreed to meet the Mahratta chief with only a single attendant. The Mahomedan army was stationed at a distance; but Sevajee, acquainted as he was with the

mountain defiles, placed a select body of Mahrattas in ambuscade. Having performed his religious devotions with great fervour, he advanced to the interview with all humility, and while in the act of embracing Afzul Khan, plunged a concealed weapon in his bowels, and despatched him with his dagger. The troops of the murdered general, thus taken by surprise, were surrounded and defeated, and the whole of the camp equipage, including 4,000 horses, fell to the victor. The success of this stratagem, notwithstanding the atrocity of the deed, served to exalt the character of Sevajee in the opinion of his countrymen, and greatly improved his position. He followed up this victory by the capture of numerous forts, and plundered the country up to the very gates of Beejapore.

Sevajee is reconciled to the king of Beejapore, 1662.

The king now took the field in person, and succeeded in regaining many of the forts and much of the territory he had lost. The war was protracted with various success for two years; but the balance of benefit remained with the Mahratta. A reconciliation was soon after effected between the parties, chiefly, as historians conjecture, through the mediation of Shahjee, who had paid his son a visit. It will be remembered, that in 1649, Shahjee was betrayed to the king of Beejapore by the Mahratta chief, Ghorepuray. On that occasion, he wrote to Sevajee:—"If you are my son, you must punish Bajee Ghorepuray of Moodhole." Thirteen years had elapsed since that act of treachery, but Sevajee had not forgotten his father's injunction. During the war with Beejapore, he learned that his enemy had proceeded to Moodhole with a slender escort, and he resolved not to lose this opportunity of avenging his family wrongs. He appeared suddenly before the town, captured and burned it to the ground, and with one exception, slaughtered the whole of the family and adherents of Ghorepuray, even to the infants in the womb. Shahjee was delighted on hearing of this vindictive exploit, and resolved to visit his son, whom he had not seen for twenty years. He was received with the

highest distinction, and Sevajee attended him on foot for twelve miles. Shahjee congratulated him on the progress he had made towards the establishment of a Hindoo power, and encouraged him to persevere. On his return, he was entrusted with presents for the king of Beejapore, which served as a peace offering and led to a treaty. At this period, Sevajee, in his thirty-fifth year, was in possession of the whole coast of the Concan, from Callian to Goa, extending about four degrees of latitude; and of the ghauts, from the Beema to the Wurda, about 130 miles in length, and 100 in breadth. His army, which consisted of 50,000 foot and 7,000 horse, was out of all proportion to the territory under his authority; but he was incessantly engaged in war, and he made war support itself by exactions.

Extent of Sevajee's possessions in 1662.

Shaista Khan sent to repress Sevajee, 1662.

Sevajee being now at peace with Beejapore, let loose his plundering hordes on the Mogul territories, in utter violation of his engagements with Aurungzebe, and swept the country up to the suburbs of Aurungabad. The emperor appointed Shaista Khan, his own maternal uncle, and the nephew of Noor Jehan, viceroy of the Deccan, with orders to chastise this aggression, and carry the war into the Mahratta domains. Shaista captured Poona, and took up his residence in the very house where Sevajee had passed his childhood; and Sevajee conceived the design of assassinating him in his bed A Mahratta foot soldier in the imperial service whom he had gained, got up a marriage procession, which Sevajee joined in disguise, and was enabled to enter the town with thirty of his followers in the suite. After nightfall, when the town was dark and quiet, he proceeded unperceived to the palace, with every corner of which he was familiar, and suddenly fell on its inmates. The viceroy, awaking suddenly from sleep, escaped with the loss only of a finger, but his son, and most of his guards were cut down. Sevajee, foiled in his chief object, the destruction of the viceroy, retired before the troops could be assembled, and was seen returning to his encampment amidst a blaze of torches.

This daring exploit, so congenial with the national character, was regarded with greater exultation by his own countrymen than his most splendid victories. Shaista Khan was soon after recalled and sent to govern Bengal, and the Rajpoot raja Jesswunt Sing, the governor of Guzerat, who was left in command was little disposed to push matters to extremity against men of his own faith.

Sevajee attacks Surat, 1664.

The operations of Sevajee, which had hitherto been limited to the neighbourhood of the ghauts, were now extended to a more remote and a bolder enterprize. The city of Surat, a hundred and fifty miles distant from Poona, was at that period the greatest emporium of the western coast of India. The annual importation of gold and silver from Arabia and Persia alone amounted to fifty lacs of rupees, and two families in the town were accounted the richest mercantile houses in the world. It was, moreover, considered pre-eminently *the* port of the Mogul empire, where all the devout Mahomedans, official and private, from the various provinces which yielded a revenue of thirty millions a year, embarked on pilgrimage for Mecca. Sevajee is said to have visited the city in disguise, and during four days marked the houses of the most opulent for plunder. Taking with him 4,000 of his newly raised horse, he appeared suddenly before the town, which was ill fortified, and having deliberately plundered it for six days, returned leisurely to his capital at Raigur. He met with no resistance except from the European factories. Sir George Oxenden, the English chief at Surat, defended the property of his masters, and also that of the natives, with such valour and success as to obtain the applause of Aurungzebe, as well as a perpetual exemption from some of the duties exacted of other merchants. This was the first occasion on which English and native troops came into contact with each other, and the result filled both Mahomedans and Hindoos with astonishment. On his return from this expedition, Sevajee heard of the death of his father, at the age of seventy, and immediately assumed the

Death of Shahjee, 1664.

title of raja, and began to strike the coin in his own name. At the period of his death Shahjee was in possession, not only of the extensive jaygeers around Bangalore which he had received from the raja of Beejapore, but of Arnee, Porto Novo, and Tanjore, in the south of the peninsula, which he had subjugated, and, in consideration of his fidelity to the state, had been permitted to retain.

Sevajee plunders Barcelore, 1664.

Sevajee, finding that his power would not be complete unless he could command the sea as well as the land, had been engaged for some time in creating a fleet. While his troops were employed in ravaging the Mogul territories up to the walls of the Ahmednugur, his ships were capturing Mogul vessels bound to Mecca, and exacting heavy ransoms from the rich pilgrims embarked on them. In February, 1665, he secretly drew a large fleet together at Malwan, consisting of eighty-eight vessels, of which three were large ships of three masts and the remainder of from 30 to 150 tons burden. Having embarked with 4,000 troops, he proceeded to Barcelore, a hundred and thirty miles south of Goa, which had long been considered one of the greatest marts of commerce on the western coast, but has now disappeared even from the map. There he obtained immense booty and returned to his capital before it was known that he had embarked. This was the first expedition at sea which he headed in person; it was also his last, for a violent gale drove his vessel down the bay; he suffered seriously from sea-sickness, and his spiritual guide assured him that this was the mode in which his tutelar deity had manifested his displeasure at such a heterodox enterprise.

Sevajee submits to Aurungzebe, 1665.

On his return from this voyage Sevajee found that a powerful Mogul army, commanded by the renowned raja Jey Sing and Dilere Khan, the Afghan general, had entered his territories. Aurungzebe, who was an intense bigot, felt greater indignation at the interruption of the holy pilgrims proceeding to the Prophet's tomb

than at the assumption of the title of raja, the plunder of Surat, the coinage of money, or any other aggression of Sevajee. On this occasion Sevajee was attacked with the greatest impetuosity by the imperial generals, and felt his inability to cope with an army so greatly superior to his own. He was, therefore, induced to call a council of his officers, at which he appeared the most irresolute of all; and it was resolved to enter into negotiations with the enemy. They ended in the Convention of Poorunder, by which he engaged to restore all the forts and districts he had taken from the Moguls, with the exception of twelve, which, with the territory around them, yielding a revenue of a lac of pagodas a year, he was to hold as a jaygeer dependent on the emperor. But he dexterously inserted a clause which would have overbalanced all his losses. In lieu of some pretended claims on the old Nizam Shahee state, he asked for certain assignments which he termed the *chout*, and the *sur-desh-mookhee* on some of the Beejapore districts above the ghauts, the charge of collecting which he offered to take on himself. This is the first mention in history of the celebrated claim of the *chout*, or fourth of the revenue, which the Mahrattas subsequently marched over India to enforce. So anxious was Sevajee to get the principle of these exactions admitted, that he offered a peshcush or donative of forty lacs of pagodas—nearly a million sterling—to be paid by annual instalments, and engaged to maintain an additional body of troops for the emperor's service. In the letter which Aurungzebe wrote to him on this occasion he confirmed all the stipulations of the convention, but made no allusion to the *chout* or *sur-desh-mookhee*, probably because he did not comprehend the insidious tendency or even the import of these barbarous terms. But Sevajee chose to consider the silence of the emperor as an acknowledgment of these claims, which, from this time forward, it became the paramount object of Mahratta policy to extend to every province.

The origin of the *chout*.

Sevajee, having now entered the emperor's service,

Sevajee attacks Beejapore, and visits Delhi, 1666.

joined the imperial army with 2,000 horsemen and 8,000 foot, and marched against Beejapore. The Mahratta horse in the service of Beejapore,—a portion of which was commanded by Vencajee, the half-brother of Sevajee,—greatly distinguished themselves in this war; nor were the Mahrattas in the service of the emperor less conspicuous for their valour. Aurungzebe wrote a complimentary letter to Sevajee, inviting him to court, and he proceeded to Delhi with an escort of 1,500 horse and foot. The emperor had now an opportunity of converting a formidable foe into a zealous adherent; but, either he had not the tact of conciliation, or his pride rendered him blind to his interests. Sevajee found himself treated with wanton insult, and presented at the durbar in company with nobles of the third rank. He left the imperial presence burning with indignation, and asked leave to return to his jaygeer. But the object of the emperor was to detain him, and his residence was beleaguered and all his movements watched; he contrived, however, to elude the vigilance of the emperor's guards, and escaped in a basket, and reached his own dominions in the disguise of a pilgrim in December, 1666.

Aurungzebe's moderation. Sevajee's civil polity, 1668-69.

The raja Jesswunt Sing, and prince Muazzim were sent to command in the Deccan,—the Mahomedan fond of pleasure, and the Hindoo of money. Sevajee gratified the avarice of the raja with large gifts, and through him was enabled to make his peace with the emperor, who made an addition to his territories and conferred on him the title of raja. The Mahratta manuscripts ascribe this unexpected lenity on the part of the emperor to the design he cherished of again decoying Sevajee into his power. About the same time a treaty was concluded between the king of Beejapore and Aurungzebe, by which the former ceded the fort and territory of Solapore, yielding near two lacs of pagodas a-year. Sevajee now prepared to enforce his claim of *chout* on the districts of Beejapore, alluded to in the Convention of Poorunder, but the vizier of that state purchased

exemption by agreeing to an annual payment of three lacs of rupees. Some agreement of a similar character appears to have been entered into by the minister of Golconda for a sum of five lacs of rupees. Having now a season of greater leisure than he had hitherto enjoyed, Sevajee employed the years 1668 and 1669 in revising and completing the internal arrangements of his government. There is nothing which gives us so high an opinion of his genius as the spirit of wisdom which pervades his civil polity. It is impossible to behold without the greatest admiration, a rough soldier, who was unable to read or write, and who had for twenty years been simply a captain of banditti, establishing a system of administration so admirably adapted to the consolidation of a great kingdom. His military organization, which was distinguished for its vigorous discipline and its rigid economy, was equally suited to the object of creating a new and predominant power in Hindostan.

Prosperity of Aurungzebe and his people, 1666—70.

This was also the most prosperous period of Aurungzebe's long reign. The empire was at peace. His father Shah Jehan had recently sunk into the grave, and there was no longer any dread of projects for his restoration. The emperor was held in the highest respect throughout the Mahomedan world, and received tokens of deference from the most distant sovereigns. The Scheriff of Mecca, the Khan of the Uzbeks, the king of Abyssinia, and even the sovereign of Persia, had sent complimentary embassies to Delhi. But the restless ambition of Aurungzebe again kindled the flames of war, which continued to rage without the intermission of a single year through the period of thirty-seven years to which his reign was prolonged. Finding it impossible to inveigle Sevajee into his power, and knowing that his general Jesswunt Sing was inactive under the influence of Mahratta gold, he issued the most peremptory orders to seize him and some of his principal officers, threatening vengeance for neglect. Sevajee, seeing hostilities inevitable, prepared for the conflict with the most determined reso-

lution. He opened the campaign by the capture of Singurh, a fortress deemed inaccessible to an enemy, but which his general Maloosray escaladed with his mountaineers, the Mawullees, and fell in the moment of victory. Sevajee rewarded every private soldier with a silver bangle. Poorunder, a fortress of equal strength and importance, was also recovered. With an army of 14,000 men he again plundered Surat, and again the factors of the East India Company covered themselves with renown by the gallantry of their defence. One of Sevajee's generals overran the province of Candesh, and for the first time levied the *chout* from a Mogul district. The most remarkable circumstance attending this distant invasion was the exaction of a written document from the village authorities, in which they engaged to pay one-fourth of the government dues to Sevajee, or to his officers. Sevajee, on his part, engaged to furnish them with regular receipts, which would exempt them from future pillage and ensure them protection.

Jinjeerah made over to the Moguls, 1671

The great naval arsenal of the Beejapore state was the port of Jinjeerah, and it was under the command of an Abyssinian admiral. It had long been the earnest desire of Sevajee to obtain possession of this important harbour, and he had besieged it annually for nine years, but, owing to the inferiority of his artillery, had invariably failed. In 1670 he again brought his whole force against it, but was again baffled. He endeavoured to seduce the admiral from his allegiance by large offers; but three of the subordinate officers of the port, who were personally obnoxious to Sevajee and detested the very name of Mahratta, imprisoned the admiral, and placed both the arsenal and the fleet under the protection of the Moguls. This was a severe blow to the projects of Sevajee, as it strengthened his most formidable and inveterate foes, the Sedees of Jinjeerah, by enabling them to obtain reinforcements from Surat, which rendered the port impregnable. Meanwhile, the emperor, dissatisfied with the inactivity of his son Muazzim, sent

Mohabet Khan, with an army of 40,000 men to the Deccan. Sevajee had always avoided a pitched battle with the superior forces of the Moguls, but on this occasion he boldly resolved to try conclusions with them in the open field. The result was the most complete victory the Mahrattas had ever gained, and no trifling increase of their confidence. The attention of the emperor was soon after drawn to Afghanistan, and the war with Sevajee languished.

Aurungzebe in the Khyber, 1673.

The turbulent Khyberees and Eusufzies, the perpetual enemies of peace and order, had again broken out in open revolt. They had defeated Mahomed Amin, the son of Meer Joomla, and destroyed his army in the passes, —subsequently rendered memorable by the annihilation of a British army,—and obliged him to redeem his women and children by a heavy ransom. The emperor determined at first to undertake the subjugation of these incorrigible highlanders in person, and marched with a large force as far as Hussun Abdal, but soon after transferred the command of the expedition, in which little glory was to be reaped, to his son. The war occupied two years, and the emperor was at length happy to terminate it by accepting the nominal submission of the tribes. On his return to Delhi he found himself suddenly involved in a most formidable difficulty arising from a most insignificant cause.

Revolt of the Sutnaramees, 1676.

A sect of Hindoo devotees, called Sutnaramees, living in the town of Narnoul, agriculturalists by profession but always bearing arms, were thrown into a state of extreme excitement by the violence of a police soldier. The emeute gradually grew into a revolt. The devotees assembled by thousands, and being joined by some disaffected zemindars and men of note, defeated a body of troops sent against them. The provinces of Agra and of Ajmere were thrown into commotion, and the imperial army shrunk from collision with enthusiasts, who were said to possess the magical power of resisting bullets. The tact of Aurungzebe at length succeeded in putting down a rebellion which threatened his empire. He

caused texts of the Koran to be written on slips of paper and attached to his standard, and his troops, now believing themselves protected from the spells of the enemy, obtained an easy victory.

Aurungzebe persecutes the Hindoos, 1677.

This event would scarcely be worthy of notice, but for the disastrous results which sprung from it. Akbar and his two successors had adopted the liberal and sound policy of reconciling the Hindoos to the Mogul power by granting them religious liberty and equality. During a century of toleration the Rajpoot chiefs became the firmest supporters of the Mogul throne. But the bigotted Aurungzebe entertained a strong religious hatred of all infidels, though from motives of policy, he still continued to employ Rajpoot troops, as a counterpoise to his Mahomedan soldiers, and had formed two family alliances with Rajpoot princesses. From the beginning of his reign, all his measures had breathed a spirit of intolerance, but it was not till his feelings were embittered by the want of success in the Khyber, and the revolt of the Hindoo devotees, that he entered upon a systematic persecution of the Hindoos. He issued an edict forbidding all governors any longer to receive Hindoos into the public service, and ordered the *jezzia*, or poll tax, to be imposed on all who were not Mahomedans. The tax was odious, not so much from its pressure, being less than three quarters per cent. on income, as from its being a "tax on infidels," and a token of religious degradation. On going to prayers at the mosque after this edict, his way was blocked up by suppliants whom his guards were ordered to disperse, and many of whom were trampled to death by his horses and elephants. After this example of severity, the tax was sullenly submitted to. So severe was the persecution, that not only were the pagodas destroyed throughout Bengal, but in the holy city of Benares, the sanctuary of Hindooism, the most sacred temples were demolished and mosques erected on the ruins, while the images were used as steps for the faithful to tread on.

Revolt of the Rajpoots, 1678.

These violent proceedings produced great disaffection in every province, but no open revolt, except in Rajpootana, and for the Rajpoots the emperor had no sympathy. His father and grandfather were, indeed, the offspring of Rajpoot princesses, but he himself was of unmixed Tartar blood. It was not, however, till after the death of the two celebrated Mahratta generals who had been the prop of the throne, raja Jey Sing, of Jeypore, and raja Jesswunt Sing, of Joudhpore, that Aurungzebe ordered the jezzia to be imposed on his Hindoo subjects. Jesswunt Sing had recently died in the imperial service at Cabul, and his widow had returned to Delhi with her two sons, on her way to their native country. Aurungzebe, anxious to detain the children as hostages, surrounded their encampment with his troops; but Doorga Dass, the faithful servant of the family, extricated them by the most ingenious contrivances from the toils of the emperor, and conveyed them in safety to their own capital. The insult thus inflicted on this noble house served to rouse the indignation of the Rajpoots, and, with the exception of the raja of Jeypore, who was bound to the imperial family by many intermarriages, the whole of Rajpootana was in a blaze. The emperor lost no time in marching into the country, and constrained the rana of Oodypore to make his submission. Favourable terms were granted to him, and a cession of territory was accepted in lieu of the poll tax. But soon after he took up arms again, and Aurungzebe, exasperated by this renewed opposition to his wishes, summoned troops from every part of India, even from the province of Bengal, and let them loose on this unhappy country. The prince was again driven to the mountains, the women and children were carried into captivity, and the country was consumed by fire and sword. The alienation of the Rajpoots from the Moguls was now complete. After this period they were often at peace with Aurungzebe and his successors, and furnished their contingents of troops, and accepted the government of provinces; but that cordial attachment which had made them the bulwarks of the empire for

more than a hundred years, was gone. During this war with the Rajpoots, the embarrassments of the emperor were increased by the defection of his son, prince Akbar, who went over to the enemy and advanced suddenly upon the imperial camp with an army of 70,000. Aurungzebe was in imminent danger of being captured with his slender escort, but with his accustomed craft he succeeded in sewing dissensions among the adherents of the prince, who found himself generally deserted, and sought refuge with the Mahrattas, accompanied by the faithful Doorga Dass, and 500 Rajpoots.

Sevajee assumes royalty, 1674.

To return now to the progress of Sevajee. In 1672 he appears to have proceeded on a secret expedition to Golconda, and extracted nine lacs of pagodas from the king. While Aurungzebe was employed in Afghanistan, he took advantage of the death of the king of Beejapore and the weakness of a minority, to annex the whole of the Concan and the adjoining ghauts, with the exception of the ports held by the English, Portuguese, and Abyssinians. He had long struck the coin in his own name, and he now determined to proclaim his independence and assume all the ensigns of royalty. After many religious solemnities, on the auspicious day fixed by the brahmins, the 6th of June, 1674, he was enthroned at Raigur, and announced himself as the "ornament of the Khsetriyu race, the lord of the royal umbrella,"—the *chuttru putee* of modern India, the *satrap* of ancient Persia. In accordance with the custom of oriental princes he was weighed against gold, and the money was distributed amongst the brahmins to the amount of 16,000 pagodas, for, to their chagrin, he was found to weigh only ten stone. The next year he sent an army for the first time across the Nerbudda, and ravaged the province of Guzerat.

Sevajee's expedition to the Carnatic, 1676.

In the year 1676 he undertook one of the most extraordinary expeditions recorded in Indian history, whether we regard the boldness or the success of the design. It was directed to the recovery of the paternal jaygeer, held by his half-brother Vencajee, as a vassal

of Beejapore, and the extension of his conquests in the south of India. Having bribed the Mogul general Khan Jehan who directed the operations against him, and obtained an armistice, he made the most judicious provision for the protection of his forts until his return. At the close of 1676 he marched to Golconda with a force of 30,000 horse and 40,000 foot, and, through the medium of the chief minister, a Mahratta, entered into a compact with the sovereign, who engaged on his part to cover Sevajee's territories during his absence, while Sevajee agreed to grant him a moiety of all his conquests, with the exception of the paternal estates. After a month of negotiation and the receipt of a large supply of money and artillery, he sent forward his army and proceeded himself to pay his devotions at the celebrated shrine of Purwuttun. Naked and covered with ashes, he assumed the guise of a Hindoo jogee or devotee, and having for nine days committed various acts of superstitious folly, which at one time alarmed his attendants for his sanity, resumed the command of the army, and marched by Madras in the beginning of May. Fort after fort was surrendered to him; but the most extraordinary exploit of this expedition was the capture of Ginjee, the inaccessible fortress of the south, "tenable by ten men against any force that could be brought against it." He had now advanced six hundred miles from his own capital, and at Trivadee had an interview with his brother, Vencajee, who held Tanjore and the other territories bequeathed to him by Shahjee. These domains he refused to share with Sevajee, who thereupon took forcible possession of the whole of the jaygeer; while his horse ranged through the Carnatic and subjected it to plunder wherever the exaction of the *chout* was resisted, but no portion of either land or money did he allot, according to his agreement, to the king of Golconda. Meanwhile the Moguls attacked that state, and Sevajee, having come to an understanding with his Tanjore brother, returned to his own dominions and reached Raigur in the middle of 1678, after an absence of eighteen months.

Attack of Beejapore, 1679. A formidable army had been sent by Aurungzebe under Dilere Khan to besiege Beejapore; and the regent, during the king's minority, invoked the aid of Sevajee, who stipulated as the price of his assistance, for the cession of the Raichore dooab, or country lying between the Toombudra and the Kistna, and the sovereignty of his father's jaygeer and of the conquests he had made in the south. To create a diversion in favour of Beejapore, he proceeded northward, and laid waste all the country between the Beema and the Godavery, and plundered the town of Aurungabad for three days, though the Mogul viceroy was at that time residing in it. After his return from this expedition he captured twenty-seven forts, and on the receipt of an express from the regent of Beejapore hastened to the succour of the town. On the line of march, his son, Sambajee, who had been placed in confinement by his father for an attempt to violate the wife of a brahmin, made his escape and went over to the Mogul general. Sevajee retired to Panalla to devise means for the recovery of the youth, and sent his army to Beejapore, which was making a noble defence. The Mahratta generals cut off all supplies from the enemy's camp, and eventually obliged Dilere Khan to raise the siege. At the same time Sambajee returned to his allegiance and was placed under restraint by his father. But in the midst of these events all Sevajee's plans of ambition were cut short by his death, which happened at Rairee on the 5th of April, 1680, in the fifty-third year of his age.

Death of Sevajee, 5th April, 1680.

His character. Aurungzebe could not conceal the satisfaction he felt on the death of his most formidable enemy. During the long struggle which he was constrained to maintain with Sevajee, he affected to despise his power, and was accustomed to deride him as the mountain rat; but after his death he did full justice to his character. "He was," he said, "a great captain, and the only one who has had the magnanimity to raise a new kingdom, while I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India; my armies have

been employed against him for nineteen years, and nevertheless his state has been always increasing." This state, at his death, comprised a territory estimated at four hundred miles in length, and a hundred and twenty in breadth, in the north; in the south he was in possession of half the Carnatic, which alone was equal in extent to many kingdoms in India. These large possessions were created by the efforts of his own genius, and consolidated by a communion of habits, religion, and language, and a common hatred of the Mahomedans. Sevajee is one of the greatest characters in the native history of India, greater than Hyder Ali, greater even than Runjeet Sing who, in after times followed his example, and beginning life as adventurers closed it as mighty sovereigns. He did more than found a kingdom; he laid the foundation of a power, which survived the decay of his own family. His son was a dissolute tyrant, and his grandson a simpleton, from whose hands the sceptre fell; but the spirit of national enthusiasm which he infused into the Mahrattas, in a few years made them the arbiters of the fate of India.

Succession of Sambajee, 1680.

Sambajee, the eldest son of Sevajee, was living in durance at the time of his father's death, in the fortress of Panalla, and a party was formed among the Mahratta chiefs to exclude him from the throne, on the ground of his profligacy. But he succeeded in establishing his authority, and was acknowledged the sovereign of the Mahratta nation, after which he gave loose to the ferocity of his disposition. He caused one of his father's widows as well as those who had opposed his succession to be executed, not sparing Anajee, a brahmin, to whom he was under the greatest obligations. He had none of the virtues of his father, except his courage. His cruelties soon alienated the great generals and statesmen who had assisted in building up the Mahratta throne; and he rendered himself an object of general contempt by his slavish devotion to a favourite of the name of Kaloosu, a Cunouj brahmin. His inglorious reign of nine years was marked only by rash enterprizes, or

voluptuous excesses. At the beginning of his reign he was induced to renew the siege of the island of Jinjeerah, the great naval arsenal of the Moguls, which his father had attacked year after year in vain. He was obliged to relinquish the enterprize with disgrace, and the Seedee or Abyssinian admiral retaliated on him by ravaging the coast, and slaughtering kine, and eventually by destroying the fleet which Sevajee had been at the greatest pains to create. In the year 1681, the emperor's son, Akbar, who had at first joined the Rajpoots, sought refuge at the court of Sambajee and received a cordial welcome; but, becoming at length disgusted with the follies of that prince, he retired to Persia.

Aurungzebe in the Deccan, 1683.

Aurungzebe had never relinquished his designs on the Deccan. Though he had not prosecuted them with vigour, his generals had from time to time invaded Beejapore, and he himself had steadily fomented all the internal discords in that state, as well as in Golconda, and encouraged the Mahrattas to assail and plunder them both. Having now, in a great measure, subdued the opposition of the Rajpoots, which had been excited solely through his own bigotry, he resolved to bring the whole strength of the empire to bear on the subjugation of the south. It was a war of wanton aggression, and, by a righteous retribution, it exhausted the resources and hastened the downfall of the Mogul power. In the year 1683 he quitted Delhi, which he was destined never again to enter, with an army magnificent beyond all former example. The finest cavalry was assembled from the provinces beyond the Indus, and within it, and supported by a vast and well equipped infantry. The artillery consisted of several hundred pieces, served by native gunners, but directed by Europeans, as well as an efficient body of sappers and miners. A long train of elephants, intended both for war and equipage, and a superb stud of horses accompanied the camp. There was, moreover, a large menagerie of leopards and tigers, and hawks and hounds without number,

and all the appliances of field sport. The camp, which resembled a moving city, was supplied with every luxury the age or country could furnish. The canvas walls which surrounded the emperor's personal encampment were twelve hundred yards in circumference, and the tents contained halls of audience, courts, cabinets, mosques, oratories, and baths adorned with the finest silks and velvets, and cloth of gold. There is no record of such extravagant luxury in any modern encampment, and it may be questioned whether it was equalled by the Persian splendour of the army of Xerxes. But there can be no question that a thoroughly equipped and well commanded force of 10,000 Europeans—cavalry, infantry, and artillery—would have dispersed this host like chaff before the wind. Yet, amidst all this grandeur, the personal habits and expenses of the emperor were as frugal and austere as those of a hermit.

Invasion of the Concan, 1684.

With this unwieldy army the emperor moved down to Boorhanpore, and then to Aurungabad, and, by a strange infatuation, commenced his operations by directing the odious jezzia to be imposed on all the Hindoos of the south. Contrary to all military principles he sent a body of 40,000 horse, under his son, prince Muazzim, to traverse the stupendous ghauts, and enter the maritime province of Concan. The prince reached the Concan without opposition, except from the natural obstacles presented by this region of mountains, and he plundered and laid waste every village as he proceeded. But the work of destruction recoiled on the invaders. The resources of the province were destroyed, and by the time the army reached the neighbourhood of Goa, it was in a state of starvation. The Mahratta cruizers intercepted the supplies sent from the Mogul ports, and their cavalry blocked up the passes. The wreck of this fine army, exhausted by hunger and pestilence, was at length happy to find shelter under the walls of Ahmednugur, while Sambajee, advancing to the north, insulted the emperor by plundering and burning down the town of Boorhanpore.

Invasion of Beejapore, 1686. In 1686 Aurungzebe moved his camp to Solapore, and sent his son, prince Azim, to attack Beejapore. In this, the last year of its national existence, the troops of that state exhibited the most devoted gallantry. They cut off the supplies of the Moguls, intercepted all their communications, and reduced the army to a state of extreme peril, from which it was extricated only by the extraordinary exertions of Ghajee ood deen, who, after a desperate engagement, succeeded in bringing up a convoy of 20,000 brinjaree bullocks with grain; but the prince could effect nothing. In the meantime, the king of Golconda, Aboo Hussein, formed an alliance with Sambajee, who took advantage of the embarrassment of the Mogul troops before Beejapore to lay waste the province of Guzerat, and sack the town of Broach. On the failure of the Beejapore expedition the emperor sent his general, Khan Jehan, to attack Golconda. Mudhoona Punt, the Mahratta minister of that state, had equipped an army of 70,000 men to meet the invasion. It was commanded by Ibrahim Khan, whose superiority in the field was so great as to place the Mogul commander completely in his power; but instead of pressing his advantages, he treacherously went over to the enemy with a large portion of his army. Mudhoona was assassinated in a popular tumult excited by his enemies, and the helpless king sought refuge in the fortress of Golconda. For three days Hyderabad was subject to plunder, which the Mogul commander could not restrain, and the wealth which Aurungzebe had destined for his own coffers was, to his infinite chagrin, shared among the soldiers. The king at length sued for peace, and a treaty was concluded with him, on condition of his paying a contribution of two crores of rupees.

Conquest of Beejapore, 1686. Aurungzebe was now at liberty to turn his whole strength against Beejapore. The walls were of hewn stone, six miles in circumference, and the artillery was as superior to that of the Moguls as it had ever been; Aurungzebe determined therefore to blockade the town. The

garrison began to be straitened for provisions, and its brave Patan defenders were at length obliged to capitulate. The emperor, seated on a portable throne, was carried in triumph through a breach in the walls, and the young king was consigned to captivity, and died within three years, not without suspicion of violence. On the 15th of October, 1686, Beejapore was blotted out of the roll of Indian kingdoms, after having enjoyed a career of independence for more than a hundred and fifty years. The revenues of the country were estimated in the imperial registry at seven crores of rupees a year, a sum which appears incredible, notwithstanding the fertility of its soil, and the wealth poured into it by maritime commerce. Whatever may have been the resources of the kingdom, the Adil Shahee dynasty employed them in works of utility or magnificence which had no rival in India. No race of princes ever adorned their capital in so brief a period with such magnificent mosques, palaces, and tombs. Even at the present day, after nearly two centuries of decay in an Indian climate, the majestic ruins of the city attract the admiration of the traveller, more especially the mausoleum of Mahomed Adil Shah, with its dome of simple grandeur, which, like the dome of St. Peter's, fills the eye of the beholder from every quarter.

Conquest of Golconda, 1687.

The fate of Golconda was not long delayed. Aurungzebe was determined not to allow the treaty which he had recently concluded with the king, to impede the absorption of the kingdom. Though the Mogul army was now sufficiently strong to overwhelm it, the emperor again had recourse to his habitual craft. He advanced into the territory with a large force, under pretence of a pilgrimage to the tomb of a saint, and began to practise on the fears of the bewildered monarch, from whom he gradually extracted all his treasure and jewels. It is recorded, that Aboo Hussein stripped the inmates of his seraglio of their ornaments to propitiate the emperor. But Aurungzebe's cold and selfish nature was never capable of a generous emotion. The only return he made for these offerings was a declaration

of war against the unhappy prince, charging him, a follower of the Prophet, with the crime of having employed a brahmin for his minister, and formed an alliance with the infidel Mahrattas. The king, though addicted to pleasure, was roused to indignation by the baseness of this treatment, and for seven months defended himself with a heroism worthy his ancestors. The fort of Golconda was at length captured, but only by an act of treachery, and the royal house of Kootub Shah became extinct, after a brilliant career of a hundred and seventy years. Mogul generals were sent to take possession of the districts in the Carnatic and Telingana, which had been held by the kings of Beejapore and Golconda, and the Mahrattas, leaving nothing but the principality of Tanjore in the possession of Vencajee, in whose line it continued till it was absorbed in the British dominions.

Confusion in the Deccan.

The ambition of Aurungzebe was now consummated. He had extended his authority in the south over tracts which had never before acknowledged the sovereignty of the Mahomedans, and for the first time in seven hundred years the whole of India appeared to be bound in allegiance to a single head. The year 1688 is the culminating point of Mahomedan rule. The calamities of Aurungzebe commenced as soon as he had reached the summit of success, and the decay of the Mogul empire may be dated from the fall of Golconda. The governments which had maintained order in the Deccan had disappeared; no system of equal vigour was established in their stead. The suspicious nature of Aurungzebe prevented him from entrusting any of his generals with a force which they might be tempted, by its magnitude, to turn against him. The two states of Beejapore and Golconda had maintained their authority by an army of 200,000 men; the Mogul army, after their subjugation, did not exceed 34,000 men. The disbanded soldiery enlisted under disaffected commanders, or joined the predatory bands of the Mahrattas, and each petty chief, in accordance with the prescriptive habits of the country, "withdrew his

neck from the yoke of obedience," whenever it could be done with the prospect of impunity. Aurungzebe was incessantly employed in the siege of forts; there was no energy at the head-quarters of government; there was no redress for the oppression of the governors, while the collectors of the jezzia extorted millions from the wretched Hindoos, and exasperated them against the Mogul conquerors. The Deccan became a scene of boundless confusion, and the last twenty years of the reign of Aurungzebe presented a constant succession of conspiracies and revolts, which consumed the strength of his army and of the empire.

Death of Sambajee, 1689.

Sambajee, infatuated with his favourite and immersed in low pleasures, viewed with indifference the fall of Beejapore and Golconda, though it enabled the Moguls to concentrate their efforts upon the Mahrattas. Aurungzebe had taken possession of the open country, and was engaged in besieging the forts, when Sambajee was surprised during a drunken revel, and conveyed as a prisoner to his presence. After the insult offered to the imperial power by the plunder of Boorhanpore and Broach he had sworn that "he would never return to Delhi till he had seen the head of the Mahratta weltering at his feet." The life of Sambajee was offered him on condition that he would turn Musulman. The haughty son of Sevajee replied, "Not if you would give me your daughter in marriage," and at the same time poured a torrent of abuse on the Prophet. Aurungzebe ordered his tongue to be cut out for his blasphemy, and finally put him to death with the most excruciating tortures. Though Sambajee had lived nine years amidst the contempt of his subjects, his tragic end created a strong feeling of pity among them, and gave a keen edge to that spirit of hostility which they cherished towards the Mahomedans The flagitious execution of Sambajee, which has left a stain of the deepest die on the character of Aurungzebe, was not only a crime, but an error. It was the sowing of the dragon's teeth, of which the emperor reaped an abundant harvest before his death.

Sahoo, king of the Mahrattas, 1689.

The Mahrattas, unable any longer to look abroad for assistance, and pressed by the whole power of the Mogul empire, were obliged to bend to the storm. The cabinet of ministers elected Sahoo, the infant son of Sambajee, though then a captive in the emperor's camp, to fill the throne, and appointed his uncle, Ram raja, regent. Of the great kingdom founded by Sevajee little remained in the north, and it was determined to make suitable arrangements for preserving the remnant, and to transfer the seat of Mahratta power to the south. Ramraja, with twenty-five chiefs, made his way in disguise through the Carnatic amidst a variety of adventures, on which the national historians delight to dwell, and established his court at the fortress of Ginjee, which Sevajee conquered in 1676, little dreaming at the time that it was one day to become the refuge of his family. Ram raja, on his arrival, laid aside the character of regent and assumed the ensigns of sovereignty, arranging his court on the model of that of his father.

Mahratta depredations, 1692.

In the following year he sent two of his generals, Suntajee and Dhunnajee, with a force which increased on its progress, to plunder the Mogul territories and distract their attention. They extended their ravages to the neighbourhood of Satara, where Ramchunder, who had been entrusted with the Mahratta interests in the north, devised a new plan for damaging the Moguls. He conferred the right of levying the *chout* and *sur desh mookee*, and of laying waste the districts which refused these exactions, on every Mahratta chief who could bring his retainers into the field. At the same time he created a new demand of *ghaus dana*, or forage money, which was to be the individual perquisite of each chieftain. Under this new impulse, every mountain and valley poured forth its inhabitants to desolate the plains, and the Mogul authorities instead of having one great predatory army, directed by a single head, and amenable to obligations on their hands, had a monster with a hundred heads to deal with.

Comparison of the Mogul and Mahratta armies.

The Mogul army was ill fitted to contend with this new swarm of warriors. Its commanders were silken generals compared with the iron chiefs of Akbar's days. They vied with each other only in extravagant display, while their persons were protected from danger by wadding and chain armour. The spread of luxury had eaten out the spirit of valour and discipline, and nothing was so little desired by them as the sight of the enemy. The number of men for whom the officers drew pay, was never honestly maintained, and the ranks were filled with any cheap and beggarly recruits they could pick up. A force thus constituted was no match for the Mahratta troops, accustomed to hard fare and harder work. "The horse without a saddle was rode by a man without clothes, whose constant weapon was a trusty sabre; footmen inured to the same travel, and bearing all kind of arms trooped with the horse; spare horses accompanied them to bring off the booty, and relieve the wearied or wounded. All gathered their daily provisions as they passed. No pursuit could reach their march; in conflict their onset fell wherever they chose, and was relinquished even in the instant of charge. Whole districts were in flames before their approach was known, as a terror to others to redeem the ravage."

Siege of Ginjee, 1690—98.

The rallying point of the Mahrattas was the fortress of Ginjee, the siege of which was as protracted as the siege of Troy. On hearing that Ram raja had taken up his abode in that fortress, Zulfikar Khan was in the first instance sent to capture it; but the suspicious temper of the emperor led him repeatedly to change the commanders, and the operations necessarily languished. Zulfikar was often in collusion with the Mahrattas, and it was even suspected that he contemplated the establishment of an independent authority through their aid, on the death of the aged emperor. It was during the languor of this siege that Suntajee Ghorepuray, having defeated the Mogul generals in the north, appeared before the place with a body

of 20,000 horse. The besieging army was besieged in its turn, and Cam buksh, the son of the emperor, and the nominal commander-in-chief, was driven to a humiliating convention. Aurungzebe disallowed it, recalled his son, and entrusted the command for the third time to Zulfikar. But as he was in communication with the enemy, the siege was again prolonged, till the emperor, indignant at his inactivity, gave him the option of its immediate capture, or his own degradation. Zulfikar now assaulted the fort in earnest, and it was reduced in the year 1698.

Ram raja makes Satara his capital, 1698.

Ram raja, who had been allowed, through the connivance of Zulfikar, to escape from Ginjee before its capitulation, made his way back to his native mountains and selected Satara as his capital. He was soon enabled to assemble a larger army than Sevajee had ever commanded, and proceeded to levy what he termed "the Mahratta dues" through the provinces of Candesh and Berar. The greater portion of the maritime forts of the Mahrattas had been preserved or recovered; and, with Colaba for their arsenal, they were enabled to keep the sea against the Moguls. On the other hand, the Mahratta cause suffered the severest injury by the death of Suntajee Ghorepuray, who had been the terror of the Mogul armies for seven years. Dhunnajee, his former associate, became his mortal enemy; he was hunted by his own countrymen like a wild beast, through the region which he had filled with his exploits, and was at length brought to bay and his head cut off and sent as an acceptable present to the emperor.

New plans of Aurungzebe, 1700.

To meet the increasing audacity of the Mahrattas, Aurungzebe devised the plan of separating his army into two divisions—one to be employed in protecting the open country from their depredations—the other in capturing their forts. The first duty was committed to Zulfikar Khan, the ablest and the most energetic of the Mogul generals, at a time when they were universally enervated by indulgence and venality. He repeatedly defeated the

Mahrattas in the field; but he was unable to reduce their strength, and they always appeared more fresh after a defeat than his own troops after a victory. Aurungzebe reserved the task of capturing the fortresses for himself; and, breaking up his encampment on the banks of the Beema, to the deep regret of his voluptuous officers, commenced operations by the siege of Satara, which was surrendered to him in four months, in April, 1700. A month before this period Ram raja expired at Singur, and his son, a child of ten years of age, was declared king under the regency of his mother, Tara Bye.

His increasing difficulties, 1702—1707.

During the succeeding five years Aurungzebe was incessantly engaged in reducing the Mahratta forts; but while thus employed he continued to superintend the minutest details of business throughout the empire, and not even a petty officer was admitted to the service at Cabul without his concurrence. When we are assured that the climate of India invariably relaxes the vigour of the body and the energies of the mind, we turn with astonishment to this octogenarian chief, engaged incessantly with youthful vigour in the duties of the cabinet or in the severer labours of the field, in a wild country and a vile climate. But all the energy of Aurungzebe was unable to cope with the disorders which multiplied around him. The Rajpoots were again in open hostility; other tribes in the north, encouraged by his continued absence, and the consequent weakness of the administration, began to exhibit a refractory spirit. His treasury was exhausted by a wasting war of twenty-five years. The Mahratta chiefs began to recover their forts; and in 1705 he received accounts at one and the same time that they had crossed the Nerbudda in great force, and extended their ravages to Malwa, and overrun Berar and Candesh, and also despatched 15,000 troops to levy contributions in Guzerat. In every direction around his camp, north, south, east, and west nothing was seen but the sack of villages, the slaughter of troops, and devastation of the country.

Overtures to the Mahrattas, 1706.

In these deplorable circumstances the emperor made overtures to the Mahrattas, and offered them a legal title to the *fourth* and the *tenth* of the revenues of the six soobahs of the Deccan, on condition of their maintaining order and repressing violence. But they immediately rose in their demands, and had the effrontery to require dresses of honour for more than seventy of their marauding chiefs. The negotiation was therefore broken off, and the imperial encampment began to retire to Ahmednugur, closely followed by the Mahrattas, who plundered up to the verge of the camp, and converted the retreat into an ignominious flight. Twenty years before Aurungzebe had marched from this capital in all the pride and pomp of war, to extend this dominion to Cape Comorin; he now returned to it with the remnant of a discomfited army, and pursued by a victorious foe, and there he expired on the 22nd of February, 1707. By his will he directed that his funeral expenses should be limited to four rupees and-a-half, to be defrayed from the sum he had received for the caps he had made and sold; and that the sum of 805 rupees, which he had acquired from the sale of the Korans he had copied with his own hands, should be distributed among the poor.

Aurungzebe's death, 22nd February, 1707.

Remarks on his reign.

Aurungzebe has been considered by the native historians the type of Mogul greatness, and his name is invested with an indefinite idea of grandeur, even in the minds of Europeans. But this feeling is corrected by a close inspection of the events of his reign, and it is impossible to resist the conviction that few characters in Indian history have ever been more overrated. His personal bravery, his military talents, and his application to business, are deserving of all praise; but he persisted in a policy which was inherently vicious, after he perceived the ruin it was bringing on the empire. He was engaged for twenty-five years in a war, first of intolerance, and then of aggression, which exhausted the resources of the country, and hastened

the downfall of the house of Baber. The great oriental despotism of the Moguls, like others which preceded it, had nearly run out the usual period of two centuries, and began to crumble to pieces, as soon as the genius or the prestige of Aurungzebe ceased to sustain it.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE DEATH OF AURUNGZEBE TO THE INVASION OF NADIR SHAH, 1707—1739.

Disputes for the throne. Succession of Bahadoor Shah, 1707.

On the death of Aurungzebe, prince Azim, who had been banished through his father's dread of being treated by his own sons when weakened by disease, as he had treated Shah Jehan, immediately returned to the encampment, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and prepared to march to the capital; but his elder brother, Muazzim, with better reason, assumed the crown, and advanced from Cabul to meet his rival. His son, who had governed Bengal for eleven years, materially assisted his cause by opportunely bringing up eight crores of rupees which he had amassed during that period. The two armies met in the neighbourhood of Agra, when prince Azim was defeated and fell, together with two of his sons. Zulfikar, who had remained neuter during the engagement, at once declared for the victor. It only remained to dispose of the pretension of the youngest son of the late emperor, Cam buksh, who was assembling troops in the Deccan. Zulfikar marched against him with a contingent of Mahrattas, and defeated him. He died shortly after of his wounds, and Muazzim, who was left the undisputed master of the empire, assumed the title of Bahadoor Shah.

Mahratta affairs—Sahoo—Tara Bye, 1708.

The Mahrattas, who had baffled the power of Aurungzebe for thirty years, were now weakened by intestine discord. Tara Bye, the widow of

Ram raja held the reins of government for seven years, in the name of her son. Sahoo, the son of Sambajee, the legitimate heir to the throne, had been for seventeen years a captive in the Mogul camp, where he had been treated with great kindness by the emperor, who married him to the daughters of two of the principal Mahratta sirdars in his service. Prince Azim, when setting out to seize the prize at Delhi, adopted the sage advice of Zulfikar, and not only granted Sahoo his liberty but furnished him with assistance to assert his claim to the Mahratta throne, on condition that he should hold it as a vassal of the empire. Tara Bye immediately proclaimed him an impostor, and collected an army to oppose him; but he succeeded in obtaining possession of Satara, and in March, 1708, assumed the functions of royalty. In this family contest, the great Mahratta chieftains embraced opposite sides, and drew their swords against each other; a happy event for the neighbouring provinces. At the end of five years, Sevajee, the son of Tara Bye, died, and her minister seized the opportunity of superseding her authority, and placing another of the sons of Ram raja, Sambajee, on the throne at Kolapore, which, from that period became the seat of the younger branch of the royal family, and the rival of Satara.

Daood Khan grants the *chout*, 1708.

Zulfikar Khan was rewarded for his adherence to Bahadoor Shah with the vice-royalty of the Deccan, which he committed to the care of Daood Khan, while he himself continued to reside at the capital. Daood Khan was a Patan of noble birth, famous throughout the Deccan for his matchless courage, and his love of strong drink. He paid frequent visits to Madras, and did not hesitate to partake of English hospitality. The Madras President always "took care to supply him with liquors, because he was so generous under their influence." It is recorded that in 1701, Mr. Pitt, the father of Lord Chatham, who then occupied that post, gave him a grand entertainment in the Council Chamber, when the Patan "pledged the chief largely in cordial waters and French brandy, amidst a discharge of cannon."

Zulfikar, who was desirous of cultivating peace with the Mahrattas, of whom he had been the most formidable foe in the field for fifteen years, authorized his lieutenant to offer Sahoo the *chout* which the Mahrattas had so long extorted by violence. Though the concession came only from a local officer, and was not therefore conclusive, it was not the less prized by the Mahratta cabinet, as the first legitimate title they had been able to acquire to their exactions. The tranquillity of Rajpootana was secured by the same spirit of concession to its three principal rajas.

Origin of the Sikhs.

These arrangements which clearly indicated the growing weakness of the empire, appear to have been hastened by the inroads of the Sikhs in the north. Nanuk, the founder of the Sikh community, who flourished about the close of the fifteenth century, taught, that devotion was due to God, but that forms were immaterial, and that the worship of the Hindoos and the Mahomedans was equally acceptable to the deity. The sect which he founded gradually increased in numbers for a century, and became an object of detestation to the bigotted Mahomedans, who massacred its pontiff in 1606. In 1675, Gooroo Govind, the tenth spiritual chief in succession from Nanuk, conceived the idea of forming the Sikhs into a military, as well as a religious, commonwealth. He abolished all distinction of caste, and admitted all converts to perfect equality; but every member of the body was required to be a pledged soldier from his birth, or his initiation. He inculcated reverence for the Hindoo gods and brahmins, and prohibited the slaughter of kine. After a long struggle with the Mahomedans, he saw his strongholds captured, his mother and children destroyed, and his followers slaughtered, mutilated, or dispersed. These severities exasperated the fanaticism of the Sikhs, and planted an inextinguishable hatred of the Mahomedans in their minds. Under a new chief, of the name of Bandoo, they issued from their retreats, overran the Punjab, and, if we are to believe the Mahomedan historians, committed unheard of atrocities.

Death of Bahadoor Shah, 1712.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, they had extended their inroads, on the one side to Lahore, and on the other to Delhi; and Bahadoor Shah marched against them in person and drove them back to the hills. He died on his return to Lahore, in February, 1712, after a brief reign of five years, at the age of seventy-two.

Accession and death of Jehander Shah, 1712.

His death was immediately followed by the usual contest among his sons, which terminated in the defeat and death of three of them, when the survivor mounted the throne, and assumed the title of Jehander Shah. One of the earliest acts of his reign, was to put to death all the princes of the blood royal within his reach. He appointed Zulfikar Khan, who had supported him through the conflict to the post of vizier, while he resigned himself to the most degrading pleasures, and raised the relatives of a dancing girl who had become his favourite mistress, to the highest honours in the state. But his ignoble career was speedily cut short by his nephew, Ferokshere, who had escaped the massacre of his family, by his absence in Bengal, of which he was the viceroy. He advanced with an army of 70,000 men, and defeated the emperor in the neighbourhood of Agra. The noble Zulfikar Khan, the last of the great captains of the Mogul dynasty, whose ancestors had served it in the highest offices for more than a century, was basely strangled by the orders of Ferokshere, and the wretched Jehander Shah was put to death after a reign of six months.

Ferokshere, 1713. —The Syuds.

Ferokshere, the most contemptible, as yet, of any of the princes of his line, ascended the throne in 1713, and dishonoured it for six years by his vices and his cowardice. He owed his elevation to the exertions of two brothers, Hussein Ali, the governor of Behar, and Abdoolla Khan, the governor of Allahabad, generally denominated the Syuds, to denote their descent from the Prophet, and his reign was little else but a series of machinations to destroy them. The one was advanced to the post of vizier, and Hussein Ali was appointed commander-in-chief. They were both men

of talent and valour, but, as they monopolised all power, they incurred the jealousy of the emperor and the enmity of his favourites. Immediately on his accession Ferokshere made a native of Mooltan, who had been a cazee at Dacca, his chief confidant, and under his influence sent Hussein Ali against Ajeet Sing, the raja of Joudhpore, in the hope that the expedition might prove fatal to him. But he disappointed his enemies by concluding an honourable peace with the raja, and inducing him to give one of his daughters in marriage to the emperor. The nuptials, which were celebrated at Delhi with extraordinary splendour, have become memorable in the history of British India by the patriotic conduct of a British surgeon, the particulars of which will be given in a future chapter.

Nizam-ool-moolk, viceroy of the Deccan, —1713.

Daood Khan, who had governed the Deccan as the deputy of Zulfikar Khan, was removed after the destruction of his patron, and sent as governor to Guzerat. The agreement he had made with the Mahrattas regarding the *chout* and other dues fell to the ground on his removal and they began to collect them again by violence. The office of soobadar of the Deccan was bestowed on the son of Ghazee-ood-deen, who has been already mentioned in connection with the siege of Beejapore in 1686. The family had emigrated from Turkey, or rather Tartary, to seek its fortunes in India, and belonged to a clique of officials at the capital who were commonly designated the Tooranee nobles. Chin Kilich Khan, the new soobadar, rose to distinction in the court of Aurungzebe, by whom he was decorated with the titles of Asof-Jah and Nizam-ool-moolk. As it was on this occasion that he laid the foundation of the kingdom of Hyderabad, we shall anticipate the period of his independence by designating him henceforward as the Nizam. He was a statesman of great experience and ability, but of still greater subtlety. During the seventeen months of his incumbency he fomented the dissensions between the rival houses of Kolapore and Satara, and thus established some check on the ravages of the Mahrattas. Sahoo was induced to acknowledge himself

a vassal of the emperor, and though in his own circle he assumed the title of king of the Hindoos, in the court calendar he was ranked as a Mogul commander of 10,000. The increasing contentions of these two branches of the family of Sevajee had created such anarchy as to bring the Mahratta state to the verge of ruin, when the genius of Balajee Vishwunath placed the party of Sahoo in the ascendant, and rekindled the smouldering energies of the nation. Balajee was originally a simple karkoon, or village accountant, but rose through various gradations of office till he reached the dignity of Peshwa, or chief minister. It was to his energy that the rapid expansion of the Mahratta power, when it had reached the limit of depression, is to be attributed, and he may justly be regarded as the second founder of its greatness.

Balajee Vishwunath, Peshwa, 1714.

Hussein Ali Soobadar of the Deccan, 1714. Death of Daood Khan.

The Nizam was discharged from the office of viceroy of the Deccan to make room for Hussein Ali, one of the Syuds, who was sent thither to remove him from the court. Instructions were at the same time given to Daood Khan to offer him the most strenuous but covert opposition, and the reversion of the appointment was held out to him as the reward of success. But Daood Khan was too daring and impetuous for any subterfuge, and he determined to bring the dispute to an immediate issue. He accordingly met Hussein Ali with his own veteran force, and attacked him with such fury as to scatter his forces like a flock of sheep. But in the moment of victory a cannon-ball struck him dead, and the fortune of the day was changed. His devoted wife, a Hindoo princess, on hearing of his fate, stabbed herself to the heart. The memory of his reckless courage and his chivalrous exploits is still preserved in many a ballad and proverb in the Deccan. Hussein Ali, flushed with this victory, took the field against the Mahrattas, but was completely defeated, and they immediately extended their encroachments and enlarged their claims. The emperor, anxious only for the destruction of his own obnoxious general,

gave them every encouragement to resist him, and promised to reward them if they were successful.

Convention with the Mahrattas, 1717.

Hussein Ali, distracted on the one hand by the incessant plots hatched against him at Delhi, and on the other by the depredations of the Mahrattas, who were stimulated by the court, adopted the desperate resolution of winning them over to his cause by concessions. He entered into negotiations with the Mahratta cabinet, which were conducted with consummate skill by Balajee Vishwunath, and resulted in a convention as advantageous to the Mahrattas as it was disgraceful to the Moguls. Sahoo was acknowledged as the independent sovereign of the districts comprised in the family jaygeer, and of subsequent conquests. The "fourth" and the "tenth" of the revenues of the six soubahs of the Deccan, and of the tributary states of Tanjore, Mysore, and Trichinopoly, were bestowed on him on condition that he should, in addition to the usual fee on such grants, pay an annual tribute of ten lacs of rupees, furnish a contingent of 15,000 troops, and become responsible for the peace of the Deccan.

Remarks on this Convention.

This was the greatest stride to power the Mahrattas had yet made, and it fulfilled the fondest wishes of the founder of this system of spoliation. It furnished them with a large and permanent revenue, for though the six soubahs had been exhausted by the incessant ravages of war, the assignment granted to the Mahrattas was, at their dictation, calculated on the sum of 18 crores, which those provinces had yielded in the years of peace and prosperity. It would apparently have been more to the pecuniary advantage of the Mahrattas to exchange assignments spread over a country which extended from sea to sea, and from the Nerbudda to Cape Comorin, for a compact territory. But the great object of the Peshwa was to render the claims of the Mahratta nation as complicated, as extensive, and as vague as possible, and thus to acquire a right of constant interference in the revenue administration of the entire Deccan,

well knowing that the interpretation of its demands would rest with the strongest. This famous convention gave a new impulse to the Mahratta policy, and at the same time placed the government more exclusively in the hands of the cabinet of brahmins at Satara, of whom the Peshwa was the head. It likewise provided congenial employment for a host of Mahratta officers, who were now planted in every district of the south to collect the tribute, with every motive to multiply their exactions.

Hussein Ali marches to Delhi.—Death of Ferokshere, 1718.

This convention enabled Hussein Ali to withdraw his armies from the Deccan, and to march to Delhi. The emperor was advised to disallow the treaty, and the breach between him and the Syuds became wider. Hussein Ali hastened to the capital to restore the ascendancy of his family, accompanied by Balajee Vishwunath, and 10,000 select Mahratta horse. A confederacy which included the chief ministers of state, was formed by the emperor for the destruction of the brothers, but he had not the courage necessary for such an enterprise, and had, moreover, come under the influence of a new favourite. Hussein Ali was therefore enabled to march into the city with little opposition. Ferokshere made the most abject submissions, but was dragged from the recesses of the seraglio where he had taken refuge, and privately assassinated.

Accession of Mahomed Shah, 1719.

Two puppets were successively placed on the vacant throne by the triumphant Syuds, but they disappeared by poison or disease in a few months, when Rustum Khan, a grandson of Aurungzebe, was made emperor, and assumed the title of Mahomed Shah, the last who deserved the name of emperor of India. Weak and despicable as Ferokshere had been on the throne, his tragic death created great sympathy throughout the country, and the popular indignation against his assassins was manifested by risings and rebellions in various districts; but the greatest subject of disquietude to the brothers arose from the conduct of the Nizam. Though he had joined the Syuds against the

late emperor, he was alienated from their interests by being nominated to the inferior post of governor of Guzerat, when he had every reason to expect the viceroyalty of the Deccan. He began to collect troops, on the plea of restoring order in the province assigned to him, but in reality to establish his own power in the south, where he had many adherents, both among the Mahrattas and the Mahomedans. He marched southward with 12,000 men, and having captured the important fortress of Asseergur, and overrun Candesh, defeated two armies which were sent against him, and thus became master of his position.

Revolt of the Nizam, June, 1720.

Hussein Ali assassinated, 1720.

Meanwhile the young emperor was fretting under the yoke of the Syuds, and, under the discreet guidance of his mother, formed a combination among the nobles of his court to release himself from their power. The plot, which embraced some of the most eminent of the courtiers, could not be concealed from the brothers; but they were distracted by the difficulties which surrounded them on every side. At length it was resolved that Hussein Ali should march against the Nizam, taking the emperor with him, and that Abdoolla should return to Delhi, the court being then at Agra, to look after the family interests. Five days after the army had commenced its march, a savage Calmuck, who had been selected to strike the blow, approached the palankeen of Hussein Ali, on pretence of presenting a petition, and stabbed him to the heart. In the conflict which necessarily ensued, the partisans of the emperor were victorious, and the army marched back to Delhi. Abdoolla, hearing of his brother's fate, set up a new emperor, and marched to encounter Mahomed Shah, but he was entirely defeated, though his life was spared in consideration of his august lineage.

Mahomed Shah enters the capital, 1720.

Mahomed Shah, now a free monarch, entered his capital with great pomp a twelvemonth after he had been elevated to the throne, and made a liberal distribution of offices. The odious *jezzia*, the tax on infidels, was abolished. The Rajpoot rajas of Joudhpore and

Jeypore were promoted to governorships; while the raja of Oodypore, still isolated by his orthodox dignity, refused all intercourse with the court, and sunk into contempt. Sadut Ali, a Khorasan merchant, who had raised himself by his talents to the charge of Biana, was made soobadar of Oude, where he founded the royal dynasty which was extinguished in 1856. The office of vizier was reserved for the Nizam, who came up from the Deccan to assume the control of public affairs. But he found the new emperor utterly unworthy of his station, immersed in pleasures, and so besotted with a favourite mistress as to have given her the custody and use of the royal signet. He endeavoured to rouse Mahomed Shah to a sense of his duties as the head of a great empire which was exposed on every side to danger. But his master turned a deaf ear to this sage counsel, and listened with more delight to the advice of his dissolute companions, who amused him by turning the antiquated habits and solemn manner of the venerable statesman, then in his seventy-fifth year, into ridicule.

Origin of the Oude family, 1721.

The Nizam appointed Vizier, 1722.

He returns to the Deccan, 1723.

The courtiers, to rid themselves of the presence of the vizier, sent him against the refractory governor of Guzerat, whom their own folly had driven into rebellion. He quelled the revolt at once by his tact, and returned to the capital, where, however, he did not long remain. Disgusted with the weakness and profligacy of the court, and despairing of any reform, he threw up his office, and proceeded to the Deccan. The emperor loaded him with honours on his departure, but at the same time instigated the local governor of Hyderabad, Mobariz Khan, to resist his authority, and held out the reversion of the viceroyalty as a bait. The Nizam defeated Mobariz, and sent his head to Delhi, congratulating the Court on the extinction of the revolt. He then fixed on Hyderabad, the ancient capital of the Kootub-Shahee dynasty, as the seat of his government, and from this period may be dated the rise of the Nizam's dominion.

Founds Hyderabad, 1724.

Death of Balajee Vishwunath, 1720.

Balajee Vishwunath, as already stated, had accompanied Hussein Ali with a Mahratta contingent to Delhi, and, on the accession of Mahomed Shah, obtained the imperial confirmation of the grants of the "fourth" and the "tenth," and returned in triumph with the invaluable charters, fourteen in number, to Satara, where he soon after died. Before his death he completed the arrangements for the collection of the assignments he had acquired, and established a system of the most intricate subdivision of interests, by which ample provision was made for a whole army of Mahratta officials. A preponderating power was thus given to the cabinet of brahmins at Satara, which eventually resulted in the transfer of all the authority of the state to their chief, the Peshwa. He was succeeded in his office by his son Bajee Rao, who exhibited in the highest degree the enterprise of the Mahratta character, and in talent and vigour proved to be second only to Sevajee. The interest of the succeeding twenty years of the history of India centres in the alliances, and disputes, and strategy of the young Mahratta statesman of Satara, and the subtle old Turk at Hyderabad, who made peace and war without any reference to the emperor at Delhi.

Bajee Rao, Peshwa, 1721.

Bajee Rao's advice to Sahoo, 1723.

The impetuosity of Bajee Rao's character led him to propose the boldest schemes of ambition to his master Sahoo. He felt that unless employment could be found abroad for the large body of predatory horse which formed the sinews of the Mahratta power they would be engaged in mischief at home. Fully aware of the decay of the Mogul power, he urged the king "to strike the trunk of the withering tree, the branches must fall of themselves. Now is our time to drive strangers from the land of the Hindoos, and to acquire immortal renown. By directing our efforts to Hindostan the Mahratta flag in your reign shall fly from the Kistna to the Attok." "You shall plant it on the Himalayu," replied Sahoo. But he had been bred in the luxury of a Mahomedan seraglio, and had lost the boldness

and energy of the Mahratta character. Bajee Rao found that his own ardour was ill seconded by his sovereign, and was constrained to act under his own discretion; and thus the house of Sevajee waxed weaker, and the house of the Peshwa waxed stronger.

Affairs of Guzerat.

The Nizam had appointed his uncle, Humeed Khan, his representative in Guzerat, in opposition to the court at Delhi. The court appointed Sir-boolund Khan governor of the province, with directions to extinguish this revolt. With the aid of two Mahratta commanders, Kantajee and Peelajee, Humeed Khan was enabled to defeat the Mogul armies, and rewarded them with a grant of the "fourth" and the "tenth" of the revenues of Guzerat. Bajee Rao took advantage of this discord, and renewed his excursions into Malwa, granting Sindia, Holkar, and Powar of Dhar, commissions to levy *chout* in that province, while he himself proceeded to the south, and exacted contributions from the ruler at Seringapatam. Alarmed by the increasing audacity of the Peshwa's depredations, the Nizam endeavoured to revive the dissensions of the rival houses of Kolapore and Satara. Sambajee claimed his share of the assignments which had been granted to the Peshwa, Balajee Vishwunath, on the six soubahs of the Deccan, and the Nizam, as the official representative of the emperor, called on both parties to produce their titles and substantiate their claims before him. Sahoo and his cabinet were filled with indignation by what they deemed an insolent attempt to interfere in their domestic quarrels. Bajee Rao instantly assembled a large army, and marched against the Nizam, who was likewise supported by a large body of Mahrattas, but he was driven into a position where the want of provisions constrained him to enter into negotiations, which terminated more favourably than could have been expected.

Peshwa obtains the *chout* of Guzerat, 1729.

The singular moderation of the Peshwa on this occasion, when the Nizam was at his mercy, was not without a cause. He was at the time negotiating with Sir-boolund Khan, the imperial governor of Guzerat,

who had succeeded in establishing his authority, for the *chout* and other assignments which had been granted to the two Mahratta officers already mentioned, and, to expedite the bargain, sent his brother to lay the country waste. Sir-boolund at length found it expedient to purchase some measure of peace by yielding to these demands The concession was, however, more restricted than that which had been granted by Hussein Ali, and confirmed by Mahomed Shah. The *chout* was to be calculated on the actual amount of collections; only two or three officers were to be placed in each district to collect the dues; no other exactions were to be inflicted on the ryots, and every assistance was to be given to the imperial authority. From these limitations we are enabled to perceive how greatly the Mahrattas had abused the power conferred on them by the charters which they obtained eight years before. Never was a more flagitious and intolerable system of extortion invented by human ingenuity than that which the genius of Sevajee had devised, and which the Mahrattas considered it their mission to extend over the whole of India.

Kolapore and Satara at peace, 1730.

While Bajee Rao was employed in settling his demands on Guzerat, Sambajee crossed the Wurna and plundered the territory of his rival, Sahoo. He was, however, subsequently defeated, and obliged to sign an acknowledgment of his cousin's right to the entire Mahratta territory, with the exception of a small tract around Kolapore, to which his branch of the royal family was thenceforward to be confined, and thus ended the dissensions of twenty years. The Nizam, foiled in his attempt to weaken the Mahrattas by internal discord, found a new instrument of mischief in Dhabarry, the Mahratta commander-in-chief. He had been intrusted with the Mahratta interests in Guzerat, and was mortified to find that the *chout* and other dues in his own province had been carried off by Bajee Rao. Under a feeling of resentment and at the instigation of the Nizam, he marched towards Satara with 35,000 men, with the avowed object of releasing Sahoo from the tyranny of the Peshwa, but

he was defeated by an inferior force, and fell in battle. The influence of his rival was increased in no small degree by this attempt to destroy it. But the Peshwa acted with generosity, and conferred the office which had been held by Dhabarry on his son, an infant, and entrusted the management of affairs to Peelajee Guickwar, whose immediate ancestor was a cow-herd, and whose descendants now occupy the throne of Baroda.

Origin of the Guickwar.

Origin of Holkar and Sindia.

To this period also belongs the rise of the families of Holkar and Sindia, destined to take a prominent share in the politics of India. Mulhar Rao Holkar was the son of a herdsman, but, being a youth of adventurous disposition, exchanged the crook for the sword, and by his daring courage recommended himself to Bajee Rao, who entrusted him with the charge of levying contributions in eighty-four districts or villages in Malwa. Ranojee Sindia, though said to be allied to the noblest families in Rajpootana, was of the caste of cultivators, and entered the service of Balajee Vishwunath as a menial servant. It is related that on one occasion his master, returning from an interview with the raja Sahoo, found his attendant asleep on his back with the slippers firmly grasped in his hand. Struck with his fidelity in so humble an occupation, the Peshwa introduced him into his body-guard. He soon became one of the foremost of the Mahratta chieftains, and, like Holkar, received assignments on the districts of Malwa, which formed the nucleus of the family domain.

Convention between Bajee Rao and the Nizam, 1731.

After the defeat of Dhabarry, the Peshwa and the Nizam came to a mutual understanding for the promotion of their respective interests, and it was agreed that Bajee Rao should be at liberty to plunder the Mogul territories in the north without restraint, and that the Nizam's possessions in the south should not be molested by the Mahrattas. In fact, the Nizam, the representative of the emperor in the Deccan, purchased peace by letting the Mahrattas loose on the dominions of his sove-

reign beyond the Nerbudda. Bajee Rao crossed that river in 1732, and laid waste the devoted province of Malwa. The Mogul governor, Mahomed Bungush, was engaged at the time in besieging a refractory chief in Bundlecund, who invoked the aid of Bajee Rao. Bungush was soon, in his turn, besieged, and was rescued only by the prompt arrival of his countrymen from Rohilcund. The Bundlecund raja evinced his gratitude to the Peshwa by bequeathing him a third of his territory of Jhansi; and thus was the Mahratta standard planted for the first time on the banks of the Jumna. The government of Malwa was soon after conferred by the emperor on the Rajpoot prince, Jey Sing, whose reign was rendered illustrious by the encouragement of science and the erection of the beautiful city of Jeypore, with its palaces, halls, and temples, and, above all, its noble observatory. The profession of a common creed had promoted a friendly intercourse between the Mahratta and the Rajpoot chiefs, and Jey Sing, who was more of a scholar than a statesman, made over the whole province of Malwa to Bajee Rao, though not without the supposed concurrence of the feeble court of Delhi.

Malwa ceded to Bajee Rao, 1736

Bajee Rao's demands, 1736.

These concessions only seemed to inflame the ambition of Bajee Rao, and the necessities of his position constrained him to extend his aggressions. Great as were the resources of the Mahratta state, the greater portion of the revenue was absorbed by the chiefs who collected it, and only a fraction reached the national treasury. The magnitude of Bajee Rao's operations had involved him in debt; the bankers were slow to make further advances; his troops were clamorous for their pay, and discipline was weakened by his inability to meet their claims. He therefore demanded of the imperial court a confirmation of the assignments on Guzerat which had been granted by Sir-boolund Khan, and of the recent cession of the province of Malwa, as his personal jaygeer. The emperor, or rather his minister, Khan Dowran, offered him an assignment of thirteen lacs of

rupees on the districts south of the Chumbul, with permission to levy tribute in Rajpootana, in the hope that this claim would embroil him with the Rajpoot princes. But Bajee Rao, having learnt from his agent at Delhi that all his demands were likely to be conceded with a little more pressure, immediately increased them, and did not scruple to claim the whole territory south of the Chumbul, the surrender of the holy cities of Benares, Gya, Muttra, and Allahabad, and the immediate payment of fifty lacs of rupees. The court endeavoured to appease him with smaller sacrifices, which he readily accepted, but without abating the price of his forbearance, or the progress of his army. Holkar crossed the Jumna, by his orders, and plundered the Dooab, but was driven back by Sadut Khan, the soobadar of Oude; and this success was magnified at Delhi into a grand victory, in which thousands of infidels were said to have perished. It was even reported that Bajee Rao had been obliged to retire. "I was compelled," he wrote, "to tell the emperor the truth, and to prove to him that I was still in Hindoostan; to show him flames and Mahrattas at the gates of his capital." He advanced towards Delhi by forced marches of forty miles a day. The consternation in the imperial city may well be conceived; but his object was not to sack the capital, but to intimidate the court into concessions, and circumstances rendered it advisable for him to withdraw. His moderation encouraged a party of eight thousand horse under some of the nobles to attack his camp, but they were easily repelled by Holkar. Bajee Rao now retired from the north, recrossed the Nerbudda, and proceeded to Satara.

The Nizam defeated by Bajee Rao, 1737.

The Mahrattas appeared now to be paramount in India, and the Nizam was considered by the emperor and his ministers, the only man who could save the empire from extinction. He himself perceived, when too late, the impolicy of his compact with Bajee Rao in 1732, which had enabled the Mahrattas to plunder the northern provinces without interruption, and augmented their power to

extent which now threatened his own safety and that of every other Mahomedan potentate in India. He listened to the overtures of the court, and repaired to Delhi, where the government of Malwa and of Guzerat was conferred on him, and all the power and resources of the empire were placed at his disposal. But these resources were now reduced to so low an ebb that he could assemble an army of only 34,000 men, with which he moved down to Malwa, while the Peshwa advanced to oppose him with 80,000. Owing, perhaps, to his great age—he was now ninety-three—perhaps to an over-confidence in his artillery, which was esteemed the best in India, he intrenched himself near Bhopal, instead of boldly encountering the enemy in the field. Bajee Rao adopted the usual Mahratta system of warfare—laying waste the country around, intercepting all supplies, and harassing his opponent with incessant attacks. At length, on the twenty-fourth day from the commencement of the siege, the Nizam, receiving no reinforcements, while his enemy called up every Mahratta chief in the Deccan to his aid, was constrained to sign a humiliating treaty, granting to the victorious Mahratta the sovereignty of Malwa, and of all the territory up to the banks of the Chumbul, and engaging to use all his influence to obtain the grant of fifty lacs of rupees from the treasury at Delhi. But that treasure was to find a different destination.

Invasion of Nadir Shah, 1738.

It was in the midst of these distractions, which exhausted the strength of the empire, that Nadir Shah made his appearance on the banks of the Indus, and India was visited with another of those desolating irruptions to which it had been repeatedly subject during seven hundred years.

Nadir's antecedent career.

The Persian dynasty of the Sofis, which had lasted for two centuries, the usual term of Asiatic monarchies, was subverted in 1722 by the Ghiljies, the most powerful of the Afghan tribes. Shah Hussein, the last of that royal line, was blockaded by them in his capital, Ispahan, which had then attained the summit of pros-

perity, and contained a population of 600,000. After the besieged had endured the greatest extremities of misery and want, the king with his court went out attired in deep mourning and gave himself up to Mahmood, the victorious chief, and placed the diadem on his brows. Mahmood, after a reign of two years, rendered execrable by his cruelties, left all his conquests to his son Asruf. Nadir Shah, the greatest warrior Persia has produced since the days of Darius, was the son of a shepherd of Khorasan. His enterprising spirit led him to collect a band of freebooters; their number increased with their success, and he soon found himself at the head of a formidable force, with which he freed Khorasan from the Abdalee Afghans who had overrun it. The Ghiljie king of Persia was the next to feel his power, and was obliged to resign all his father's conquests in Persia. Nadir, after his first success, raised Thamasp, the son of the dethroned Sofi monarch to the throne; but when he had expelled the Turks and the Russians from the provinces they had occupied, and restored independence and dignity to his native land, he ascended the throne himself, on the assumed importunity of a hundred thousand of his subjects,—nobles, soldiers, and peasants,—assembled together on a vast plain to offer him the crown.

He invades Afghanistan and India, 1737-38.

To find employment for his troops, and to gratify the resentment of his countrymen, he carried his arms into the country of the Ghiljies, by whom they had been oppressed; but Candahar was besieged for a twelvemonth before it surrendered. While engaged in the siege, Nadir sent a messenger to Delhi, to demand the surrender of some of his fugitive subjects. The court was at the time distracted by the claims of Bajee Rao, and the demand was neglected. A second messenger was assassinated at Jellalabad. The government of India had, from time immemorial, been in the habit of paying an annual subsidy to the highlanders who occupy the passes between Cabul and Peshawur, and who were in a position to arrest the progress of any invader. In the confusion of the times the

payment of this black mail had been discontinued, and the highlanders now opened the gates of India to Nadir Shah, who crossed the Indus, on a bridge of boats, with 65,000 hardy veterans, and overran the Punjab before the court of Delhi was aware of his approach.

Massacre of Delhi, 1739.

The emperor marched to Curnal to repel the invasion, but experienced a fatal defeat, and, being without the means of resistance, proceeded immediately to the Persian camp, and threw himself on the mercy of the conqueror. The object of Nadir was wealth, not conquest, and it has been affirmed that he was prepared to retire on receiving a contribution of two crores of rupees; but Sadut Ali, the soobadar of Oude, who had been refused some favour by the emperor, sought revenge by representing to Nadir that this was a very inadequate ransom for an opulent empire, adding, that he was able to furnish such a sum from his own province alone. On this Nadir determined to levy the exactions under his own eye. He entered Delhi in March, 1739, in company with the emperor, and took up his residence in the palace. On the succeeding day a report of his death was spread abroad, and the citizens rose on the Persians, of whom a thousand perished in the tumult, which continued throughout the night. The next morning Nadir mounted his horse and went forth to restore order, but the first sight which met his eye was the mangled corpses of his soldiers; at the same time he himself was assailed with missiles from the windows, and a favourite officer was struck dead at his side. Unable any longer to restrain his fury, he issued orders for a general massacre of the inhabitants. For several hours the metropolis of India presented a scene of violence, lust, and bloodshed, and 8,000 are said to have fallen under the swords of the infuriated soldiery; yet so complete was Nadir's discipline, that every sword was sheathed the moment he issued the order.

Plunder of Delhi, 1739.

Nadir Shah now entered deliberately on the work of spoliation. He despoiled the emperor and his nobles of all their treasures and jewels, caused every house

to be searched and sacked, and spared no cruelty to extort confessions of wealth. Of the infamous Sadut Ali he demanded the whole of the sum which he had said his soubah was able to furnish, and the traitor terminated his existence by swallowing poison. The governors of the other provinces were likewise laid under heavy contributions. Having thus subjected Delhi to fifty-eight days of ruthless pillage, and exhausted, as he supposed, the wealth of the country, he prepared to take his departure with plunder estimated at thirty-two crores of rupees. Before his departure he reseated Mahomed Shah on the throne, but annexed all the countries west of the Indus to the crown of Persia. He likewise sent a circular to all the princes of India to acquaint them that he was moving to the conquest of other regions, and had replaced his dear brother Mahomed Shah on the throne of his extensive empire, and that if any report of their rebellion reached his ears, he would return and blot their names out of the book of creation.

State of India after Nadir's irruption in 1739.

The Mogul empire, which had been in a state of rapid decay for more than thirty years, since the death of Aurungzebe, received its death-blow from the irruption of Nadir Shah and the sack of the capital. Its prestige was irrecoverably lost, and the various provinces ceased to yield any but a nominal obedience to the throne of Delhi. All its possessions beyond the Indus were alienated to the crown of Persia. In the extreme south the Mogul authority was extinct in the principalities of Tanjore, Madura, and Mysore. The nabob of the Carnatic recognised no superior. The government of the Deccan was shared between the Nizam and the Mahrattas, and the Mahrattas had recently extended their ravages to the gates of Delhi. In the provinces of Guzerat and Malwa the authority of the emperor was trembling in the balance. The rajas of Rajpootana had ceased to be the vassals of the throne. The soobadars of Oude and Bengal acknowleged the emperor as the source of authority, but yielded him no obedience. Even in the imme-

diate vicinity of the metropolis new chiefs were, as the Mahomedan historian remarks, "beating the drum of independence." Towards the close of Aurungzebe's reign a tribe of sooders called Jauts emigrated from the banks of the Indus to the districts lying between Agra and Jeypore, and founded their capital, Bhurtpore, out of the plunder of the emperor's camp equipage; and their leader, Chooramun, did not scruple to set the imperial authority at defiance. To the north of Delhi, a tribe of Rohilla Afghans, recently embodied under a circumcised Hindoo, were rapidly rising into importance. The house of Baber had accomplished the cycle of its existence, and the sceptre of India was about to pass into other hands. Having thus reached the verge of a new era, we turn to the origin and progress of the strangers to whose lot that sceptre was to fall, though at this period they were engaged in the peaceful pursuits of commerce, and dreaming of nothing so little as the establishment of an empire in India. The main stream of this narrative will now follow the fortunes of the British power, to which the history of the various kingdoms which rose upon the decay of the Moguls will be subsidiary. But, it may be useful to bear in mind, that, with the exception of the Rajpoot chiefs and the puppet emperor at Delhi, not one of the kingdoms which were subsequently absorbed in the British empire had been in existence even a quarter of a century when the English first took up arms in Hindostan.

CHAPTER VIII.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE ENGLISH, 1600—1756.

The English in India before 1600.

THE rich trade which the Portuguese had established in the East during the sixteenth century served to quicken the spirit of enterprise which Queen Elizabeth laboured to foster in England, and her subjects were impatient to share in its profits. The splendid and

successful voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and other English navigators to the eastern hemisphere tended to augment the national ardour. In 1583, Fitch and three other adventurers started on a commercial expedition to India, by way of Aleppo and Bagdad. They carried letters of introduction from the queen to the emperor Akbar, soliciting his kind offices to her subjects who were proceeding from a far country to trade in his dominions, and offering the same kindness in return to any of his subjects who might visit England. Fitch travelled through the length and breadth of Hindostan, and was struck with the splendour of the court, the grandeur of the nobility, and the magnitude and opulence of the cities. The information which he collected regarding the commodities of the country, and the industry and wealth of the people, opened up visions of a lucrative commerce to his fellow-countrymen. A petition was accordingly presented to the Queen for permission to send three vessels to India, but the political caution of her ministers rendered it fruitless.

The East India Company, 1599.

An association was at length formed in London, in 1599, consisting of merchants, ironmongers, clothiers, and other men of substance, who subscribed the sum of 30,133*l.* for the purpose of opening a trade with the East.* In the following year they obtained a charter of incorporation from Queen Elizabeth, which granted them the exclusive privilege of this traffic for fifteen years, if it proved advantageous to the nation; if otherwise, it was liable to be annulled on two years' notice. Such was the origin of the East India Company, which confined itself to commerce for a hundred and fifty years, and then took up arms in defence of its factories, and in less than a century established British sovereignty from the Himalayu to Cape Comorin, and from Peshawur to the borders of Siam.

The first adventure of the Company was placed under the command of Captain Lancaster, and consisted of five vessels freighted with iron, tin, lead, cloth, cutlery, glass, quicksilver, and Muscovy hides, of the value of 68,000 rupees, and 287,420

rupees in bullion. It sailed from Torbay on the 2nd of May, 1601, with letters of introduction from the Queen to the princes to whose kingdoms it might resort. The new Company had no distinct knowledge of any part of India, and the fleet sailed to Acheen, in the island of Sumatra, where a cargo of pepper was obtained, and a treaty concluded with the Malay chiefs. In the Straits of Malacca, Captain Lancaster captured a Portuguese vessel of 900 tons, richly laden with calicoes and spices, and then steered for Bantam, the most flourishing port in the island of Java, where he erected a factory and left agents. The expedition returned to England in September, 1603, with a satisfactory profit to the adventurers. During the following ten years eight voyages were undertaken, which gave a return of from one to two hundred per cent. In 1608 the factors at Bantam represented that the calicoes of India were in great request in the islands of the Archipelago, and a fleet was therefore despatched, for the first time, to the coast of India; but the object was defeated by the jealousy of the Portuguese.

The Portuguese power.

The Portuguese at this period enjoyed a commercial supremacy in the eastern hemisphere, and were anxious to prevent the intrusion of rivals. They held little territory on the continent of India, but they completely monopolised its foreign trade. By the possession of Aden and Ormuz they entirely commanded the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. They occupied the coasts of Ceylon, and had no rival on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. They were paramount on the Malay seaboard, and held possession of the Moluccas, or spice islands. They had erected a factory at Macao, and enjoyed the exclusive trade of China. Their well-fortified settlement at Hooghly, second only to that of Goa, rendered them a most formidable power in Bengal. It was with this great mercantile monopoly that the English had now to enter into competition. In 1611 the East India Company sent two vessels to Surat, and the Portuguese prepared to resist their advance with four ships, the largest

of which carried thirty-eight guns. In the severa' encounters which took place between them, the Portuguese were discomfited and disgraced in the eyes of the natives. The Mogul governor of Surat and his officers spent an evening on board the vessel of the commander, and was the first native chief who ever partook of the hospitality of the English. As the Portuguese power was an object of dread along the Coast, the reputation of the East India Company was relatively exalted, and they obtained authority to establish factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, and other towns. These privileges were confirmed by an imperial firman granted by Jehangeer on the 11th of January, 1613, and Surat became the chief seat of English commerce on the western coast of India.

Embassy of Sir T. Roe, 1615.

To improve the footing which had been obtained in India, the Company prevailed on King James to send an embassy to the great Mogul. Sir Thomas Roe was appointed envoy, and proved to be admirably adapted for so delicate and difficult a mission. He sailed from England in January, 1615, and landed at Surat with great pomp, attended by a brilliant suite and eighteen men-at-arms, and proceeded to the imperial Court, where he was received with greater distinction than had been accorded to any Persian or Turkish ambassador. Having stated the chief object of his embassy, he was assured that the grievances of which he complained should be redressed. But he found himself thwarted by the influence of the Portuguese, as well as by the vizier and Shah Jehan, who subsequently succeeded to the empire. His talent and address enabled him to overcome these obstacles, and he obtained some valuable privileges for the Company, on whom, after his return, he bestowed the salutary advice which they did not forget for more than sixty years, "to seek their profit at sea and in quiet trade, and not to affect garrisons and land wars in India."

It does not lie within the scope of this work to dwell on the long-continued struggle of the East India Company with

the Dutch for a share in the spice trade of the eastern islands, or on the massacre at Amboyna, which continued for thirty years to rankle in the minds of Englishmen, till Cromwell compelled the Dutch to make satisfaction for it. In like manner we pass over the contests with the Portuguese for the possession of Ormuz and the trade with Persia, which, when obtained, was not found worth retaining. We move on to the establishment of the Company in Bengal. In 1620 two of their factors visited Patna, but met with little encouragement. In 1634 a firman appears to have been obtained from the emperor, Shah Jehan, for the establishment of a factory in Bengal; but the resistance of Rodrigues at Hooghly was yet fresh, and the residence of their agents was restricted to the port of Pipley, near Balasore. Two years after, the daughter of the emperor, who was then encamped in the Deccan, having fallen ill, the vizier dispatched an express to the English factory at Surat to request the services of a surgeon. Mr. Boughton, attached to one of the ships, was accordingly sent to the imperial camp, and having succeeded in restoring the princess to health, was desired to name his own reward. In a spirit of the noblest patriotism, he stated that the only remuneration he would accept was an order granting his countrymen the privilege of trading in Bengal free of duty, and planting factories in the interior of the country. The request was at once granted, and he proceeded across the Deccan to Bengal at the charge of the emperor. Soon after his arrival at Pipley, the first English vessel which had ever visited Bengal entered the port; and he was enabled to negotiate the sale and purchase of the investment without being subject to extortion. Two years after, the emperor's second son, prince Soojah, who had been appointed viceroy of Bengal, established his court at Rajmahal. Mr. Boughton proceeded to pay his respects to the prince, and was requested to prescribe for one of the ladies of the seraglio. He was again successful, and enjoyed a

The English in Bengal, 1620 36.

second opportunity of promoting the interests of his country. At his request the prince granted letters patent to the English to establish factories at Balasore and Hooghly.

Establishment of Madras, 1639.

The first factory of the Company on the Coromandel coast was opened at Masulipatam, from whence it was removed, in 1625, to Armegan. The trade was not however found to be remunerative, and Mr. Day, the superintendent, accepted the invitation of the raja of Chundergiree, the last representative of the great Hindoo dynasty of Beejuynugur, to remove the establishment to his territories. In a small village on the coast a plot of ground was marked out, on which, in 1639, he erected the factory which afterwards expanded into the great city of Madras. To give confidence to the native merchants, it was surrounded by a fortification, with twelve guns, and in honour of the champion of England was called Fort St. George.

For fifteen years after this period there is no event in the transactions of the Company worthy of attention. The unsettled state of England during the civil wars was not favourable to the interests of commerce, and the trade of the Company languished. The investments were small, and the profits smaller; but as soon as domestic tranquillity was restored under the Protector, an attempt was made by a body of men, calling themselves the "Merchant Adventurers," to break up the exclusive privileges of the East India Company. The arguments they employed for free trade appear at the present day to be unanswerable, but their validity was not likely to be admitted by those who had devised the Navigation Act. Cromwell referred the question to the Council of State, who recommended him to confirm the privileges of the Company, and a new charter was accordingly granted to that body. There can be little doubt that, in the circumstances of the times, the decision of Cromwell was sound, and that the power of a corporation was essential to the maintenance of a trade exposed to the caprice and the hostility of the native powers of the East. The Merchant Adventurers were therefore incor-

porated with the old Company, and the two bodies united in soliciting a confirmation of their privileges from Charles the Second at the Restoration. A charter was granted on the 3rd of April, 1661, which, in addition to the usual commercial privileges, conferred the right to make peace and to wage war with any people in India not Christians, to seize and deport to England all unlicensed Englishmen, and to administer justice. The Company, which existed only for trade, was thus invested with the most essential attributes of government.

Acquisition of Bombay, 1662.

In the succeeding year Charles II. married the daughter of the king of Portugal, and received the island and dependencies of Bombay as part of her dower. A grand expedition was dispatched to India by the Crown, under the Earl of Marlborough, to receive possession of the settlements; but after having held it for six years, the ministers of the Crown found that it cost more than it yielded, and ceded it to the Company, under whose fostering care the population has increased from 10,000 to 500,000, and the trade has risen from a few lacs of rupees to thirty crores.

First tea in England, 1668.

The year, in which the Company acquired the island of Bombay, is also memorable as that in which the first order for the purchase of tea was sent out by them to the East. Tea had been used at the period of the civil war as a "regalia in high treatments and entertainments, and presents to princes and grandees," and was sold as high as 100 shillings the pound weight, or 100 rupees the seer. But in 1657, Thomas Garraway, the founder of Garraway's coffee-house, which still exists in London, was the first to sell it "in drink made according to the directions of the most knowing merchants and travellers into the eastern countries, and many noblemen, merchants, and physicians resorted to his house in Change Alley to drink the drink thereof." He sold it at a rate varying from 16*s.* to 50*s.* the pound. But it was not till ten years after that the Company issued an order for "100 lbs. weight of the best tey they could gett to be sent home by their ships." The consumption

in England has increased from one hundred pounds weight to more than eighty millions of pounds.

Events in Bengal, 1640—1680. Turning now to the progress of events in Bengal. With the exception of two brief intervals, the administration of the province was, during thirty-two years, in the hands of two princes of the imperial family, Soojah Khan and Shaista Khan, under whose mild and beneficent rule it enjoyed repose and increased in prosperity. Shaista Khan is charged by the factors of the Company with insatiable rapacity; but they winced under every demand, however petty, and they did not deny that he fostered their commerce and obtained many favours for them from Delhi. In 1664, the French, under the auspices of the great minister Colbert, established an East India Company, in the hope of participating in the trade which had enriched England and Holland. Soon after, a large French fleet sailed up the Hooghly and formed a settlement at Chandernagore. Three years after, the Dutch, whose trade had been confined to Balasore, were permitted to establish a factory at Hooghly, but eventually fixed on Chinsurah, two miles distant, as the seat of their traffic, and erected a fortification capable of resisting the native powers, which they named Fort Augustus. About the same period the Danes entered the river, and embarked in the trade of the country. Bengal, thus blessed with tranquillity, and enriched by foreign commerce, became the most flourishing province in the empire. The general trade of the Company, which had been drooping for many years, received a new impulse from the rapid increase of prosperity in England after the Restoration, and their exports rose from 10 lacs in 1666, to 100 lacs of rupees in 1682. The ambitious fortunes to which this trade gave birth in England created a brood of interlopers, and gave rise to disputes which at one time threatened to embroil the two Houses of Parliament.

Disturbance of the trade, 1682. Shaista Khan had been relieved from the government of Bengal at his own request, and the Company's agents in Calcutta took advantage of his return to the

court to solicit a perpetual firman to exonerate them from the necessity of taking out a fresh firman on the arrival of every new governor, for which they were required to pay most heavily. It was granted through his intercession, and received in Calcutta with a salute of 300 guns. The trade of Bengal had moreover acquired such importance that the Court of Directors who managed the affairs of the Company raised it to the dignity of a separate and independent Presidency, and Mr. Hedges, the first governor, entered Hooghly with a body-guard of a corporal and twenty European soldiers. But these prospects were soon to be darkened by the wild ambition of the Court of Directors and the folly of their officers. Mr. Peacock, the chief of the factory at Patna, had remained neutral during a local *émeute*, and was charged by the Mogul governor with complicity, and placed in confinement, from which he was not released without much difficulty. The Company's lucrative trade in saltpetre was stopped at the same time. A rival East India Company had been formed in London under high auspices, and great efforts were made to obtain a charter for it; but the old Company was still patronized by the Court, and was endowed with the additional powers of admiralty jurisdiction, which authorized them to seize and confiscate the property of their rivals abroad. They now solicited the permission of the viceroy to erect a fort at the mouth of the Hooghly, or on its banks, that they might more effectually intercept the vessels of interlopers. The representative of the Mogul had a horror of European fortifications, and, if he took any interest in the question of rival companies, must naturally have desired that the number of investments on which he could levy contributions, should be increased. The request was therefore refused, and not without reason, for such a fortification would have given the Company the absolute control of the port and of the commerce of the province. But the viceroy went further, and imposed a duty of 3½ per cent. on their goods, notwithstanding the exemption acquired by the imperial firman.

War with the Moguls, 1685.

Such demands had been often made before, and as often eluded by a liberal donative; but the East India Company had become inflated with an idea of their own power and importance, and determined to extort redress by going to war with the Mogul empire. They applied to James II. for permission to retaliate the injuries of which they complained, and fitted out the largest armament which had ever been dispatched from England to the East. Admiral Nicholson was sent out with twelve ships of war, carrying 200 pieces of cannon and a body of 600 men, to be reinforced by 400 from Madras. His instructions were to seize and fortify Chittagong, for which purpose 200 additional guns were placed on board, to demand the cession of the surrounding territory, to conciliate the zemindars, to establish a mint, and to enter into a treaty with the raja of Arracan — in short, to found a kingdom. But these ambitious projects were destined to a severe disappointment. The fleet was dispersed during the voyage, and several of the vessels, instead of steering for Chittagong, entered the Hooghly, and being joined by the Madras troops, anchored off the Company's factory. The arrival of so formidable an expedition alarmed the viceroy, and he offered to compromise his differences with the English; but an unforeseen event brought the negotiation to an abrupt close. Three English soldiers, strolling through the market-place of Hooghly, quarrelled with some of the government policemen, and were severely beaten. Both parties were reinforced, and a regular engagement ensued, in which the natives were completely discomfited. At the same time the admiral opened fire on the town and burnt down 500 houses, as well as property belonging to the Company to the extent of thirty lacs of rupees.

The English retire to Ingelee, 1686.

The Mogul commandant hastened to solicit a suspension of arms, and assisted in conveying the remainder of the saltpetre on board the ships. Job Charnock, the English chief, considering Hooghly no longer safe, retired on the 20th December, 1686, to the little

hamlet of Chuttanutty, about twenty-six miles down the river, on the site of which subsequently arose the magnificent capital of British India. There the viceroy renewed and spun out the negotiations till his troops could be assembled, when he marched down to attack the English encampment, and Job Charnock retired with his soldiers and establishments to the island of Ingelee, at the mouth of the river. It was a low and deadly swamp, covered with long grass, and destitute of any fresh water. It appears incredible that a man of Charnock's experience, who had been thirty years in India, and who must have known the nature of that jungle, should have selected the most unhealthy spot in Bengal for an entrenched camp. The Mogul general allowed him to remain there without molestation, well knowing that disease would spare his soldiers the use of their swords. In three months one half of the troops were dead, and the other half fit only for hospital.

Bengal abandoned, 1688.

At this juncture, when the prospects of the English were reduced to the lowest ebb, the viceroy made unexpected overtures to Charnock. It appears that simultaneously with the dispatch of Admiral Nicholson's expedition from England, the Court of Directors instructed Sir John Child to withdraw their establishments from Surat and the neighbouring ports, and to commence hostilities on the western coast. An English fleet was therefore employed in blockading the Mogul harbours, and the pilgrim ships were captured. The bigotted Aurungzebe hastened to seek a reconciliation with those who commanded the highway to Mecca, and orders were issued to the governors of provinces to make terms with them. Charnock returned to Chuttanutty, and the pacification was on the point of being completed when the appearance of Captain Heath rekindled the flame. The Court of Directors, on hearing of the failure of Admiral Nicholson's expedition, instead of folding up their ambitious project, determined to prosecute it with increased vigour, and sent out reinforcements under Captain Heath. Immediately on his arrival he disallowed the treaty then pending, and having em-

barked on board the ships under his command, lying off Chuttanutty, the whole of the company's officers, civil and military, proceeded to Balasore, which he bombarded and burnt. He then sailed to Chittagong; but finding the fortifications stronger than he had anticipated, crossed the bay, and landed the whole of the company's establishments at Madras; and not a vestige was left of the commercial fabric which had been reared in Bengal by fifty years of painful exertion.

Reconciliation with the emperor, 1690.

This fresh insult exasperated the haughty spirit of the emperor, and he issued orders for the extirpation of the English, and the confiscation of their property. His orders were literally obeyed, and the English possessions were reduced to the fortified towns of Madras and Bombay. Sir John Child sent two gentlemen from Bombay to the emperor's encampment at Beejapore to propose terms of accommodation. Aurungzebe never allowed his passions to interfere with his interests. He was aware that his dominions benefited greatly by the commerce of the English, the value of which exceeded a crore of rupees a year; that their ships of war could sweep his coasts and extinguish his navy; and, above all, that it was in their power to prevent the resort of pilgrims to the tomb of the Prophet. He was therefore induced to accept the proposition of the commissioners, and directed the viceroy of Bengal to invite Mr. Charnock back to the province.

Shaista Khan, who had now governed Bengal for twenty years, solicited permission to retire, and quitted Dacca in 1689. On his departure he closed one of the gates of the city, and placed an inscription over it to commemorate the fact that the price of rice had been reduced during his administration to 320 seers the rupee, and he interdicted any future governor from opening it till rice was again sold at the same rate. It consequently continued closed for thirty-six years.

Establishment of Calcutta, 1690.

Shaista Khan was succeeded by Ibrahim Khan, the son of Ali Merdan, whose name is perpetuated

by his canals. The new viceroy, who was partial to the English, lost no time in inviting Charnock to re-establish the Company's factories in Bengal. Charnock, however, resented the humiliating as well as vague terms in which Aurungzebe had conceded the restoration of the settlements of the English, in consequence,—so ran the proclamation,—of their having "made a most humble and submissive petition that the crimes they had committed should be forgiven." He replied that he could not accept the proposal unless the emperor granted a specific firman for Bengal, setting forth the precise terms on which they were to carry on their trade in future. The viceroy sent him a second communication, stating that several months must elapse before the firman could be received from the imperial Court, and importuned him to return without delay, offering a compensation of 80,000 rupees for the goods which had been plundered. Charnock could not resist this friendly appeal, and embarked for Bengal with the commercial establishments of the Company, and on the 24th of August, 1690, hoisted the standard of England on the banks of the Hooghly, and laid the foundation of the city of CALCUTTA. But he did not survive this memorable event more than two years. His name is perpetuated at Barrackpore, which the natives still continue to designate Achanuk, and a simple monument in the churchyard of St. John's, in Calcutta, marks the grave of the man who founded the "city of palaces." It was not, however, till eight years after that the agent of the Company was enabled to obtain permission, by a present of 16,000 rupees to the viceroy, to purchase the three villages of Calcutta, Chuttanutty, and Govindpore, on which the city stands; though the Court of Directors did not fail to remark that "they considered the price very high."

Ambition of the Court quenched. The sudden spasm of ambition which seized the Court of Directors, in 1685, and induced them to fit out this grand armament to establish a political power in India, did not, however, last more than five years. The dying indication of it appears in their despatch of 1689: "The

increase of our revenue is the subject of our care as much as our trade; 'tis that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India; without that we are but as a great number of interlopers, united by his Majesty's charter, fit only to trade where nobody of power thinks it their interest to oppose us; and upon this account it is that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices that we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of their revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning their trade." But adversity was not lost upon the Court of Directors; from this time forward, and for more than fifty years, their views were confined so exclusively to the pursuits of commerce that in the year 1754, only three years before the battle of Plassy, which laid the foundation of their magnificent empire, they continued to inculcate on their servants, the necessity of "avoiding an expensive manner of living, and of considering themselves the representatives of a body of merchants, for which a decent frugality would be much more in character."

Fortifications of Calcutta, 1695.

After the establishment of the factory at Calcutta, the Court of Directors were anxious to place it in a state of defence. They felt that their existence in India during the recent convulsion had been owing solely to the fortresses of Madras and Bombay, which were impregnable to the assaults of any native force. Those forts had been erected before the Mogul authority was extended over the territory in which they were situated; but any increase of such defences was prohibited by the policy of the empire. Ibrahim Khan, the viceroy of Bengal, resisted all the importunities of the Company's chief to fortify Calcutta, though it was backed by an offer of 40,000 rupees. But five years after that settlement had been established an unexpected event led to the gratification of this wish. Sobha Sing, a landed proprietor of Burdwan, irritated by the proceedings of his superior, created a rebellion, and invited Ruhim Khan, the

leader of the remnant of the Orissa Afghans, who had not been heard of for seventy years, to join his standard. Their united force defeated the raja Krishnu Ram, plundered the town of Hooghly, and took possession of the district. The English at Calcutta, the French at Chandernagore, and the Dutch at Chinsurah, with a ferocious enemy at their gate, asked permission to put their settlements in a state of defence. The pacific and irresolute viceroy, who was unequal to the crisis of a rebellion, desired them in general terms to provide for their own security. Immediately every hand was employed day and night in erecting fortifications. The fort, built with lime brought up from Madras, was so substantial, that the demolition of it a hundred and twenty years after was supposed to have cost more labour than its erection. In compliment to the reigning monarch, it was named Fort William. Meanwhile the rebellion made head, and the Afghans became masters of the whole country on the right bank of the river, from Orissa to Rajmahal; but they were at length completely defeated and dispersed by Zuberdust Khan, the valiant son of the feeble viceroy. But both father and son were soon after superseded by the emperor, who dreaded the success of his generals only less than that of his enemies, and sent his grandson, Azim, to take charge of the province. The character of this prince encouraged the rebels to reassemble their forces; the royal encampment was furiously assaulted, and the viceroy himself was saved from an ignominious defeat only by the death of Ruhim Khan. He fell in single combat with one of his officers, who announced himself to be the prince, and thus saved his master's life. On the death of their leader, the Afghans made their submission to the government, the revolt died out, and the Orissa Afghans disappear from the page of history.

Rival Company, 1698.

Scarcely had the Company surmounted their difficulties in India, than they were threatened with a new and more appalling danger in England. The dazzling profits of the Indian trade had drawn forth a multi-

tude of competitors; but the Company were enabled to obtain a confirmation of their exclusive privileges from the Crown in 1693. A few months after this event the House of Commons passed a resolution to the effect "that it is the right of all Englishmen to trade to the East Indies, or any part of the world, unless prohibited by Act of Parliament." This gave fresh animation to the interlopers, and many of them turned pirates, attacking the Mogul ships and plundering the Mecca pilgrims. In revenge for these injuries, the Mogul governor of Surat arrested fifty-three of the Company's servants, and put them in irons, and they were not liberated without the payment of heavy contributions. In 1698 the interlopers, and others who were eager to participate in the trade of the East, presented a petition to Parliament for a charter, and accompanied it with the tempting offer of accommodating the treasury with a loan of two millions sterling, at eight per cent. Their exertions were successful, and the old Company, who had established British interests in India by a century of labour and expense, being unable to offer more than 700,000*l.*, were ordered to wind-up their affairs and expire in three years. But the rivalry of the two bodies was found, even in the first year, to inflict the most serious injury on the national interests in India. At Surat the gentlemen on the staff of the old Company were seized by the agents of the new body, and conveyed through the streets like malefactors, with their hands bound behind them, and delivered as prisoners into the custody of the Mogul governor. In every market the competition of the two bodies created a scarcity, and enhanced the price of goods. The officers of the native government, courted by two parties, received bribes from each, and oppressed both. "Two East India Companies," exclaimed the old Court of Directors, "can no more subsist without destroying each other than two kings regnant at the same time in the same kingdom; that now a civil battle was to be fought between them, and two or three years must end this war, as the old or the new must give way."

Embassy of Sir W. Norris, 1700.

On the establishment of the new Company, Sir William Norris was sent at their expense as ambassador from the court of England to the court of the Mogul, to obtain firmans for the establishment of factories. His difficulties began before he entered the port. The Mogul governor of Surat exacted 15,000 gold mohurs for granting him permission to make a public entry into the city. The vizier at Boorhanpore refused him an audience unless he came without drums and trumpets; and he therefore turned off to the imperial encampment at Panalla, which he reached in April, 1701. Three weeks after, he proceeded to the durbar with a splendid *cortège*, and preceded by magnificent presents. The aged emperor, then in his 88th year, but in the fullest enjoyment of his faculties, received him with great courtesy, and ordered the grants which he solicited to be prepared. But the Armenian agents of the old Company were present to thwart Sir William. Both parties were offering bribes and lavishing money, and decrying each other as impostors. With these conflicting claims before him, the emperor ordered a reference to be made to one Syud Sedoolla, a "holy priest of Surat," who was to determine by examination which was "the real English Company." The holy priest put his award up to sale, and knocked it down for 10,000 rupees; but the governor of Surat refused to report it without a donative of more than two lacs and a half of rupees. Before the terms could be settled, it was reported at the Court that three Mogul ships coming from Mocha had been captured by English pirates. These pirates, of whom Captain Kidd was now the chief, had long been the terror of India. Their vessels were fitted out at New York and in the West Indies, and they possessed several fortified stations on the island of Madagascar. With a fleet of ten ships, some carrying fifty guns, and divided into squadrons, they kept possession of the Indian seas. Two of the Company's vessels, which were sent against them, were seized by the crews, after the massacre of the officers, and added to the pirate

The English pirates, 1698.

fleet. A squadron of four ships of war was sent against them under Commodore Warren, but one of his vessels was wrecked, and so lax was the naval discipline of the period, that the other three, instead of going in pursuit of the pirates, returned to England laden with cargoes of private merchandize. The emperor, on hearing of these renewed piracies, ordered the ambassador to furnish security for the restoration of the captured vessels, and to enter into an engagement to prevent all piracies in future. With this unreasonable request he of course, refused to comply, on which he was informed that he knew his way back to England. He left the camp after seven months of fruitless negotiation, with a letter and a sword from Aurungzebe to the King of England; and thus ended a mission which had cost the new Company nearly seven lacs of rupees. The embassy itself was a mistake. One of Cromwell's ambassadors—a sixty-four gun ship, which spoke all languages, and never took a refusal—would have been far more efficacious with this unprincipled court. Sir John Gayer and the other servants of the new Company at Surat would not then have been consigned to a jail as a retaliation for piracies they had no means of preventing.

Union of the Companies, 1702.

The King, the Parliament, and the nation became at length sensible of the fatal results of the rivalry they had created, and the two Companies were amalgamated by universal consent, under the title of the "United Company of Merchants trading to the East," the indenture of which passed the Great Seal on the 22nd of July, 1702. On the completion of this union the Court of Directors, formed by the selection of an equal number from each Company, wrote to their representative at Calcutta, that "now they were established by a Parliamentary authority they deemed it a duty incumbent on them to England and their posterity to propagate the future interests of the nation in India with vigour." They directed their attention to the building of the town of Calcutta, and gave minute directions regarding its streets and houses. They completed the fort, surrounded it with an

entrenchment, and mounted it with cannon. The military commandant of Hooghly was, on the occasion of a dispute with the Company's chief, deterred by its strength from attacking it, and the native merchants who resorted to it in large numbers were inspired with increased confidence. The Court of Directors then remodelled their Indian establishment, fixing the salary of the President at 300*l.*, of the eight members of council at 40*l.*, of the junior merchants at 30*l.*, the factors at 15*l.*, and the writers at 5*l.*; but these inadequate salaries were eked out by the addition of commons, an annual supply of madeira, and the privilege of private trade. The trade proved so lucrative that we find the Directors soon after this period, complain that even the junior servants sat down to dinner with a band of music, and rode out in a coach and four.

Contests with the viceroy, 1700—1756.

From this time forward to the battle of Plassey the history of Calcutta is little else but a chronicle of the exactions of the native government and the resistance, alternately bold and feeble, of the Company's agents. On one occasion the Directors complain that the extortions by the Fouzdar of Hooghly, who "was merely the jackal of the prince and the dewan to discover the prey, had made a great hole in their cash." Then, again, they remonstrate against the exorbitant demand of 30,000 rupees by the nabob—that is, the viceroy—and recommend greater discretion to their agents. Two years after, the nabob makes a new demand of 60,000 rupees, but is pacified with half that sum. The year after, the sum of 22,000 rupees is "squeezed out of them by the Patna king." Again, in 1717, they complain that "the horse-leeches of Moorshedabad had been practising on their servants." "It was actual war which made Aurungzebe restore their privileges." Their servants are therefore ordered to stop, but not to seize, the vessels of the Mogul, "for reprisals, like extreme unction, must never be used except in the last extremity." "They never thought of carrying their contests so far as an open rupture with the viceroy of the whole country, though it might be expedient to

speak and look big with the under-governors." But this brought them no respite. Soon after, their native agent was "chabooked," or flagellated at Moorshedabad to extort a bond of 45,000 rupees from him, which was commuted to 20,000 rupees. Even so late as 1750, the President, having seized and confiscated the vessel of an Armenian interloper, was fined a lac and a half of rupees to compensate the merchant, of which, however, he never received more than 20,000 rupees. It was amidst the constant recurrence of these outrageous demands that the President and council in Calcutta contrived to carry on the trade of the Company till the young nabob of Moorshedabad filled up the measure of iniquity by the sack of Calcutta and the atrocity of the Black Hole, and Clive marched up to Moorshedabad and seated a nabob of his own on the throne of the three provinces.

Moorshed Koolee Khan, 1702.

In the year 1702 Meer Jaffer was appointed dewan of Bengal, and eventually viceroy of the three soubahs of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. He was the son of a poor brahmin in the Deccan, and was purchased and circumcised by a Persian merchant of Ispahan, on whose death he was manumitted. He then entered the public service, where his talents attracted the notice of Aurungzebe and led eventually to his being intrusted with the finances of Bengal. At the same time he was dignified with the title of Moorshed Koolee Khan, which was perpetuated in the new capital which he founded, Moorshedabad.

Embassy to Delhi, 1715.

He manifested no little jealousy of the growing power of the Company, and interfered to such an extent with their trade that the President was induced to send an embassy to Delhi to seek a redress of grievances. Two of the senior officers in the service were selected for this office; but their appeal was thwarted at every point by the agents of the Bengal viceroy, and not less by the profligate courtiers of Ferokshere. At length, however, their mission was unexpectedly crowned with success when they were on the eve of abandoning it. The emperor, as stated in a former

chapter, was betrothed to the daughter of Ajeet Sing, the raja of Joudhpore, whom Hussein Ali had brought with him to the court. But the marriage was interrupted by a disease from which the imperial physicians were unable to relieve Ferokshere. The surgeon of the embassy, Mr. Hamilton, was called in and effected a complete cure. He was desired to name his own recompense, and, with the same feeling of patriotism which had distinguished Mr. Boughton, he asked only for the concessions which the British envoys had hitherto solicited in vain. His request was granted, and thirty-four patents embracing the different objects of the memorial were issued in the Emperor's name and authenticated by the imperial seal. The privileges now obtained were, that a *dustuck*, or pass, signed by the President should exempt the goods it covered from examination by the native officers of government; that the mint at Moorshedabad should be employed three days in the week in coining money for the Company; that all persons, European or native, indebted to the Company, should be made over to the President; and that the English should be at liberty to purchase the lordship of thirty-eight towns in the vicinity of Calcutta. The embassy returned in triumph to Calcutta; but the viceroy did not fail to perceive that this accession of territory would give them the complete command of the port and make their power formidable, and he determined to defeat the grant. He sternly prohibited the zemindars to grant a foot of land to the Company on pain of his severe displeasure. But though the hope of enlarging their settlement was thus frustrated, the minor privileges they had acquired gave a new impulse to the prosperity of Calcutta, and the port was often crowded during the year with 10,000 tons of shipping.

System of the viceroy.

Moorshed Koolee Khan was the greatest and the most energetic ruler Bengal had enjoyed since the days of Shere Shah. A hundred and fifty years before this period the great financier of Akbar, raja Toder Mull, had formed a settlement of the land rent of Bengal and Behar

with the ruyuts, to the exclusion of all middlemen. To facilitate the collection of the public revenue Moorshed Koolee modified this system and divided the province into *chuklas*, over each of which he appointed an officer to collect the rents and remit them to the treasury at Moorshedabad. It was these officers, who, in process of time, claimed zemindary rights, imperceptibly enlarged their power, and having assumed the title of raja, made their office hereditary. The viceroy, who considered a Mahomedan a sieve, which retained nothing, and a Hindoo a sponge, which might be squeezed at pleasure, employed none but Hindoos in these financial duties. This will account for the singular fact that, at the period of the battle of Plassy, all the zemindary rajas of Bengal were Hindoos, while the government itself was Mahomedan. The viceroy was stern and oppressive in matters of revenue. Defaulting zemindars were subject to torture, and some were dragged through a pond filled with insufferable ordure, which was called, in derision, *bykoont*, or paradise. Before appointing these fiscal officers he caused the lands to be surveyed, and fixed the assessment at 142,00,000 rupees, of which sum 109,00,000 rupees were punctually remitted to Delhi year by year. The viceroy himself accompanied this convoy of treasure the first stage out of Moorshedabad. The whole expenditure of government was covered by the remaining 33,00,000 rupees; but so tranquil was the province that 2,000 cavalry and 4,000 infantry were found sufficient to maintain the public authority.

Soojah-ood-deen, 1725.

Moorshed Koolee died in 1725, and was succeeded by his son-in-law Soojah-ood-deen, a Turkoman, who was confirmed by the emperor in the government of Bengal and Orissa, while that of Behar was conferred on another. He administered the government for fourteen years, and punctually remitted the annual tribute to Delhi. During these two reigns the sum abstracted from the resources of this flourishing province and squandered at the capital exceeded thirty crores of rupees. Soojah augmented his army to 25,000, and adopted a more magnificent style at his court than his frugal father-in-law. The only event of any

note during his reign was the destruction of the Ostend East India Company established by the emperor of Germany at the factory of Banky-bazar, on the Hooghly, opposite Chandernagore. The settlement of these interlopers was regarded with feelings of intense jealousy by the Dutch, and more particularly by the English, who declared their intention to "cut up the Ostender's trade by the roots and not simply to lop off the branches." One of their ships was captured by an English vessel which blockaded the Hooghly. The emperor of Germany was induced, by powerful remonstrances, to withdraw the charter, and a bribe of 320,000 rupees from the English and Dutch induced the viceroy to send a force against Banky-bazar, which fell after a gallant defence, and the Ostenders were chased out of Bengal.

Ali verdy Khan, 1740. Soojah-ood-deen died at the period of Nadir Shah's invasion, and his son Serferaj Khan took possession of the government, and ordered the coin to be struck and prayers to be read in the name of the Persian. But on his departure, Ali verdy Khan, the governor of Behar, who owed his fortunes entirely to the deceased viceroy, conspired against his son, and, by large douceurs and larger promises to the profligate ministers of Mohamed Shah, the emperor of Delhi, obtained a sunnud appointing him soobadar of the three provinces. With the army he had been for some time engaged in training, he marched against Serferaj, who was killed by a musket-ball in the battle which ensued, and Ali verdy mounted the throne, for which, however, he was eminently fitted by his great talents and experience. The promises he had made were faithfully performed, and he remitted to Delhi a crore of rupees in money and seventy lacs in jewels, obtained from the estate of the deceased nabob—a most welcome supply after the imperial treasury had been drained by Nadir Shah. The presence of the new viceroy was required, soon after his accession, in Orissa, where the brother-in-law of Serferaj refused obedience; but he was speedily defeated and fled to Masulipatam. Having settled the province, Ali verdy disbanded his new levies, and was

marching back at his leisure to Moorshedabad with a small body of troops, when he received intelligence that the Mahrattas were rapidly advancing with 12,000 predatory horse to levy contributions in Bengal; and the difficulties of his reign began.

Mahratta proceedings, 1739. We turn now to the proceedings of the Mahrattas after the departure of Nadir Shah. It was a fortunate circumstance for India that Bajee Rao was prevented from taking advantage of the confusion of the times by the necessity of watching the movements of his formidable rivals, the Guickwar of Guzerat and the Bhonslay of Berar. Parsojee Bhonslay was originally a private horseman of Satara, who raised himself to notice in that age of adventure, and was entrusted with the charge of collecting the Mahratta dues in the province of Berar, where he founded the Mahratta state of Nagpore. At the period when Holkar and Sindia were only commanders in the service of the Peshwa, Roghoojee Bhonslay, who had succeeded his cousin Parsojee, was in command of a powerful force of his own, with large independent resources for its support. While the Nizam was besieged, as already stated, at Bhopal, he resisted the orders of the Peshwa to join the Mahratta standard, and proceeded on a plundering expedition to the province of Allahabad. Bajee Rao resented this intrusion into his own exclusive quarry, and sent an army to ravage Berar, but it was defeated by Roghoojee. That leader was now sufficiently strong to entertain a jealousy of the ascendancy which the Peshwa had acquired in the Mahratta councils, and was intriguing to supplant him; in which design he was eagerly seconded by the Guickwar. The difficulties of Bajee Rao's position were relieved by his own tact. Roghoojee was persuaded to take the command of an expedition to the Carnatic, consisting of more than 50,000 troops. During his absence Bajee Rao attacked Nazir Jung the second son of the Nizam, but was repulsed with great vigour. The war was protracted for many months, chiefly to the disadvantage of the Peshwa, and both parties, wearied

with a fruitless struggle, at length agreed to an accommodation. The Peshwa, dispirited by his ill-success and overwhelmed by his debts, started for the north, but expired on the banks of the Nerbudda on the 28th of April, 1740. During the twenty years in which he wielded the power of the Mahratta confederacy he raised it to the highest position in India, and his power was equally felt on the banks of the Coleroon and of the Jumna. The impulse and the confidence he gave to the ambition of his countrymen continued to animate them after his decease to fresh conquests, and in the course of twenty years rendered them supreme throughout India. He left three sons—Balajee Rao, Roghoonath Rao, afterwards the notorious Raghoba, and the illegitimate Shumshere Bahadoor to whom he bequeathed his possessions in Bundlekund.

Death of Bajee Rao, 1740.

Succeeded by Balajee Rao.

Balajee Rao was placed in his father's seat, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the Bhonslay, and obtained, from his feeble sovereign, a grant of Salsette, Bassein, and the districts recently wrested from the Portuguese in the Concan, as well as the exclusive right of levying contributions to the north of the Nerbudda, with the exception of Guzerat, and this brought him into direct collision with Roghoojee. While that chieftain was engaged in the Carnatic, Bhaskur pundit, who had been left to manage his principality, entered Behar with a body of 12,000 horse; and, emerging from the Ramghur hills, spread desolation over the western districts of Bengal. Ali verdy was returning from Cuttack with a slender force when the Mahratta commander encountered him, and demanded the immediate payment of ten lacs of rupees; and, on its being indignantly refused, enveloped the Mogul army with his horse, capturing its tents, baggage, and artillery, and reduced the viceroy to the humiliation of offering the payment he had previously refused. But the Mahratta now raised his demand to a hundred lacs, and Ali verdy resolved to run every risk rather than submit to the exaction. With great gallantry he

The Mahrattas invade Bengal, 1741.

fought his way to Cutwa, where he considered himself secure from any farther attacks. The rains had by this time commenced in Bengal and the Mahratta army prepared to return to Berar; but this resolution was opposed by Meer Hubeeb, who represented the folly of throwing away so rich a prize as Bengal without an effort. Hubeeb was a native of Sheraz, in Persia, and had been a broker at Hooghly, though unable to read and write. He entered the service of the viceroy, and by his distinguished talents and spirit of enterprize rose high in his estimation; but having been taken prisoner by Bhaskur pundit was induced to accept service with the Mahrattas, and for eight years was the soul of their expeditions and the cause of incalculable misery to Bengal. On the present occasion he obtained a large force from Bhaskur and advancing against Moorshedabad, before Ali verdy could come to the rescue, plundered the suburbs and despoiled the banking-house of Jugut Sett of two crores and a half of rupees. On the appearance of Ali verdy, Meer Hubeeb recrossed the river, and laid waste the country from Balasore to Rajmahal. He got possession of Hooghly by a stratagem. The wretched inhabitants crowded into the foreign factories, and more especially to Calcutta, for protection from this storm, and the President sought permission of the nabob to surround the Company's territory with an intrenchment. It was readily conceded, and the work was commenced and prosecuted with vigour, but suspended on the retirement of the enemy. This was the celebrated Mahratta ditch, which, though it has disappeared, like the old walls of London, still continues to mark the municipal boundaries of the city, and has fixed on its citizens the sobriquet of the Inhabitants of the Ditch.

The Mahratta ditch, 1742.

Continued Mahratta invasions.

Before the close of the rains, Ali verdy crossed the river with the army he had recruited, and the Mahratta general was eventually defeated, and obliged to evacuate the province. Roghoojee, who had returned from the Carnatic expedition, determined to support his pretensions

in Bengal, and entered the province with a large army. On the first appearance of the Mahrattas, Ali verdy had applied for aid to the court of Delhi, and the emperor invoked the succour of the Peshwa, offering him an assignment on the Bengal treasury, and a confirmation of the grant of Malwa. Balajee Rao, with his old grudge against Roghoojee, readily accepted the offer, and marched with a large force through Allahabad and Behar to the gates of Moorshedabad, where he is said to have exacted a crore of rupees from Ali verdy as the price of his services, after which he marched against Roghoojee, defeated his army, and despoiled him of the plunder he had acquired. Soon after, the two Mahratta chiefs found that their views would be most effectually promoted by coming to an understanding. The Peshwa agreed to assign the right to levy contributions from Oude, Behar, Bengal, and Orissa, to Roghoojee, who agreed, on his part, not to interfere with any of the plans or acquisitions of the Peshwa. The next year, 1744, Roghoojee sent Bhaskur pundit to renew his ravages in Bengal, when Ali verdy inveigled him to an interview, and by an act of the basest treachery caused him to be assassinated, upon which his army dispersed.

Rebellion of Mustapha, 1745. This crime did not long remain unavenged. The next year witnessed the revolt of his great general, Mustapha Khan, who had been employed to decoy the Mahratta general to the fatal conference. Mustapha was the head of the Afghan troops who formed the strength of the Bengal army, and it was chiefly to his talents and valour that Ali verdy was indebted for his elevation. The government of Behar, which had been promised him, was refused by the viceroy, and he marched into that province with an army of 8,000 horse and a large body of infantry, and, at the same time, invited the Mahrattas to invade Bengal anew. The viceroy, menaced by this double attack, manifested the utmost vigour, though then verging on seventy, and took the field with the Afghan generals who still remained faithful to him. Mustapha was at length defeated near Jugudeshpore and slain, and his body was quartered and exposed on the

walls of Patna. The Mahrattas who were advancing to his aid, retreated on hearing of his death, but they returned the next year, and, for four successive seasons, ravaged all the districts on the right bank of the river The recollection of these devastations was not effaced for generations, and to a late period in the present century the dread of the Burgees, by which name the Mahrattas were designated, continued to haunt the natives from Balasore to Rajmahal. The viceroy, worn out by the inroads which had for ten years harassed his wretched subjects and exhausted his own treasury, was compelled, in 1751, to purchase peace by agreeing to an annual payment of twelve lacs of rupees as the *chout* of Bengal, and the cession of the province of Orissa. The *chout* ceased, as a matter of course, seven years after, when British authority became paramount in Bengal; but the province continued in the possession of the Nagpore family for half a century.

Peace with the Mahrattas, 1751.

Events in the Carnatic, 1701—1744.

The Carnatic was now to become the theatre of great events, which exercised an important influence on the destinies of India. This extensive province on the Coromandel coast, on the seaboard of which lay the English and French settlements, extended about five hundred miles from north to south, and about a hundred miles inland. After the conquest of the southern provinces by the Moguls under Aurungzebe, it was included in the soubah of the Deccan. Zulfikar Khan, with whose name the reader is familiar, when recalled from his government by the emperor, transferred his authority to Daood Khan, who drank "cordial waters and French brandy" with the governor of Madras, and Daood Khan, when summoned to take a command in the imperial army in 1710, appointed Sadutoolla to act as his deputy, and he continued to administer the government of the Carnatic for twenty-two years, to the great benefit of the people. His nephew, Dost Ali, assumed the office on his death in 1732, without seeking the sanction of his superior, the Nizam, who was, however, too deeply embroiled in his contest with Bajee Rao to resent this assumption. Dost Ali

had two daughters; one married to his nephew, Mortiz Ali, the most truculent and unprincipled prince in the Deccan, the other to Chunda Sahib, distinguished equally by his talents and his liberality. In 1736 he obtained possession of the impregnable fortress of Trichinopoly by treachery, siezed the surrounding country, and extinguished the independence of the reigning family. Soon after came the great Mahratta invasion, under Roghoojee Bhonslay. Dost Ali advanced to meet him, but was defeated and slain. The Mahrattas then proceeded to levy contributions in every direction, until they were bought off with the promise of a crore of rupees, to be paid by instalments by Sufdur Ali, the son of Dost Ali, who now assumed the title of nabob of the Carnatic. During this irruption Chunda Sahib placed his family, for greater security, under the protection of the French at Pondicherry, which led to important results.

Chunda Sahib.

The popularity of Chunda Sahib had, however, excited apprehensions in the mind of Sufdur Ali, and it was a part of his compact with the Mahrattas that they should return the next year and extinguish his power; retaining the principality of Trichinopoly for themselves. They came down, accordingly, in 1741 and laid siege to that fort, which Chunda Sahib defended with great skill and valour for three months, but was eventually constrained to capitulate; and as he was considered the ablest and most formidable soldier in the south, he was conveyed to Satara and placed in strict confinement. Morari Rao, the Mahratta chief of Gooty, with 14,000 men, kept possession of the fort and territory of Trichinopoly. A year after, Sufdur Ali was assassinated by Mortiz Ali, who proclaimed himself nabob; but the friends and relatives of the murdered prince withdrew his infant son from Madras, where he had obtained shelter, and raised him to the throne. Meanwhile the Nizam, who had returned from Delhi to the Deccan, resolved to put an end to the anarchy of the Carnatic, and moved down with an army little short of 80,000 horse and 200,000 foot. All parties hastened to make

their submission to this overwhelming force, and the Nizam placed the administration of the province in the hands of one of his old and faithful servants, Anwar-ood-deen, as the guardian of the youthful son of Sufdur Ali, on whom he engaged to confer the nabobship when he came of age. The youth was soon afterwards assassinated, but Anwar-ood-deen is not chargeable with complicity in this crime, though he obtained the benefit of it. He was placed in the vacant post, and founded the family of the nabobs of Arcot, or of the Carnatic, subsequently so notorious in the history of British India. Sadut-oollah and his son, Dost Ali, had governed the Carnatic for thirty years with great moderation and no little advantage to the people. To them are apparently due the merit of constructing those works of irrigation which diffused fertility through the district. During their reigns the country enjoyed a respite from desolation, and begun to flourish. The people, grateful for so unusual a blessing, had contracted a warm attachment to the family, while the nabob of the Nizam was considered an interloper and regarded with a proportionate feeling of antipathy.

Anwar-ood-deen founds the family of nabobs of the Carnatic, 1740.

CHAPTER IX.

EFFORTS OF THE FRENCH TO ESTABLISH AN EMPIRE IN INDIA.

1746—1761.

War with France, 1744.

We are now entering on a series of events, which, though of little significance at the time, produced the most momentous results, and laid the foundation of European supremacy in India. Up to this time the French and English in India had been engaged only in the pursuits of commerce, and though they were repeatedly at war, during a period of seventy years, in Europe, there was

peace between their factories, lying side by side on the same coast and the same river. But in the war which broke out in 1744, the French ministry determined to extend the conflict to the east, and fitted out an expedition for the destruction of the English factories in India. So little apprehension was entertained in those settlements, at the time, of any hostilities which might affect their security, that the whole amount of the European force at all the Presidencies and forts did not exceed six hundred, of whom more than one-half were untrained recruits. It was in this unexpected emergency, that the English were obliged to take up arms in the defence of their interests; and we have now to trace the steps by which they gradually became involved in hostilities with the native powers, by the irresistible current of circumstances and contrary to their own wishes, till they found themselves in possession of the empire of India.

Labourdonnais. Labourdonnais, who was the first to break a lance with the English in India, had embarked for the east at the early age of fourteen, and in a long succession of voyages, acquired a complete knowledge of its trade, navigation, and resources. His application to business was indefatigable, and his spirit of enterprize was only strengthened by difficulties. He was a man of large views, and yet personally directed the minutest details. In 1734, he was appointed governor of the Mauritius and Bourbon, which he found a wilderness, and left flourishing colonies. On his return to Europe, seeing the nation on the eve of a war with the English, he persuaded the minister to strike a blow at their commercial prosperity in India, and the command of the armament was judiciously entrusted to him. At the same time the British ministry despatched a squadron, consisting of six men of war, to protect the settlements of the Company on the Coromandel coast. On the morning of the 26th of June, 1746, the French fleet of nine vessels under Labourdonnais, appeared off the coast, and the British commodore brought on an immediate action, which, however, terminated

without any result. The French general, impatient to plant the French flag on the ramparts of Madras, proceeded to Pondicherry to obtain the co-operation of the governor, Dupleix.

Dupleix. He was the son of a farmer general, and was sent in his youth to India, where he embarked in an extensive trade with all the ports of the east, and acquired great wealth. Having been appointed governor of Chandernagore, he enriched it by commerce till it became more than the rival of Calcutta, and left two thousand brick buildings as a monument of his enterprising spirit. He was a man of inordinate ambition and egregious vanity, but at the same time of vast energy and resources. He had been employed for four years in fortifying Pondicherry, when Labourdonnais arrived with plenary powers, but instead of co-operating with him to promote the common interests of the nation, a jealousy of the reputation he might acquire, induced Dupleix to thwart all his projects. But the indomitable zeal of Labourdonnais overcame every obstacle, and his fleet was rapidly equipped for a descent on Madras. On the other hand, the English squadron, sent out for the express purpose of protecting the settlements, was unaccountably withdrawn at this critical juncture, and the commodore abandoned them to their fate.

Capture of Madras September, 1746. Labourdonnais, finding the coast clear, lost no time in steering for Madras. That settlement had grown up from an insignificant hamlet in 1640 to a town of 250,000 inhabitants in 1746. The territory extended about five miles along the coast, and a little more than a mile inland. After a century of peaceful commerce, undisturbed by the appearance of any enemy by land or by sea, it was ill prepared for the formidable attack now impending. The fortifications, which had never been strong, were now dilapidated, and the store of ammunition was scanty. Of the 300 Europeans in the town, 200 were soldiers, and few of these had ever seen a shot fired in earnest. On the 15th of September, 1746, Labourdonnais appeared off the town with 1,100 Europeans, 400 Malagasees, and 400 sepoys, or native

soldiers, trained and disciplined by Europeans, an expedient which the French were the first in India to adopt. After a bombardment of five days, during which the French did not lose a man, and the English lost only five, and that by the bursting of one of their own bombs, the town and fort were surrendered. The French commander was interdicted by his instructions from retaining any of the settlements he might capture, and he, therefore, held the town to ransom, for the sum of forty-four lacs of rupees, independently of the merchandize, the military and naval stores, and the money belonging to the Company. None of the residents were molested in person or property; and it was agreed that the town should be evacuated by the French troops in three months, and that it should not be again attacked during the war. The success and the moderation of Labourdonnais only served to inflame the animosity of Dupleix, who protested against the ransom, and declared that the town and factory ought to have been razed to the ground.

Fate of Labourdonnais. Labourdonnais was reinforced in a few days by fresh arrivals from France, which raised the number of Europeans under his command to more than 3,000, a force sufficient to have crushed every English settlement in India. But they were happily saved from destruction by the spleen of Dupleix, who obstructed all the projects of Labourdonnais, and by the weather. The monsoon set in with extraordinary violence; and, though the ships freighted with the booty of Madras escaped the typhoon, some of the largest vessels in the squadron were stranded, and the whole of the fleet was disabled. Labourdonnais was constrained to quit the coast and return to the Mauritius, and eventually to Europe. On the voyage home in a Dutch vessel he was forced into an English harbour, and became a prisoner of war. But his great abilities, and his generous conduct after the capture of Madras, were so highly appreciated that he was immediately liberated on his parole. Far different was his reception in his native land. The representations of the envious Dupleix, and other

enemies he had made in India by his energy and patriotism, were favourably received; his great services were overlooked, and he was thrown into the Bastile, where be lingered for three years, and died of a broken heart on his liberation.

Defeat of native troops; its result, 1749.

On the appearance of Labourdonnais' army before Madras, the Nabob of the Carnatic, Anwar-ood-deen, sent an agent to Pondicherry to remonstrate on the presumption of the French in attacking a settlement in his dominions which was under his protection. Dupleix endeavoured to pacify him by the promise of delivering the town to him when captured, that he might enrich himself by its ransom. But after its surrender, the Nabob discovered that the promise had been made only to cozen him, and he sent his son with a force of 10,000 men to drive out the French. They advanced with confidence to attack the handful of Europeans, not exceeding a thousand, whom Labourdonnais had left to protect the town. But the field-pieces of the French fired three or four times a minute, while the native artillery thought they did wonders by firing once in a quarter of an hour. This rapid and galling fire staggered the Nabob's troops, and the resolute advance of the French infantry took all conceit of fighting out of them. The young Nabob, mounted on a lofty elephant which carried the great standard of the Carnatic, was the first to make his escape from the field, and he was followed by the whole army. This dastardly flight of ten thousand Indians before a single battalion of Europeans, is a memorable event in the history of India. It dissolved at once and for ever the spell which had hitherto kept Europeans in dread of native armies. It demonstrated their inherent weakness, however strong in numbers, and it gave the English that confidence in their own valour and strategy which contributed more than anything else to the successive subversion of the native thrones.

The Nabob abandons the English, 1749.

On the departure of Labourdonnais, Dupleix made no scruple to annul the treaty and confiscate all the property, private and public, found in

Madras. The governor and the principal inhabitants were declared prisoners of war and marched down to Pondicherry, where, under pretence of doing them honour, they were marched through the streets, amidst the jeers of fifty thousand spectators. Dupleix followed up this act of bad faith by laying siege to Fort St. David, another settlement of the Company on the Coast, about a hundred miles south of Madras, which was at the time defended only by 200 European troops. The English chief solicited the aid of the Nabob of the Carnatic, who was smarting under the disgrace inflicted on his son at Madras, and readily advanced with a large force. A French detachment was unexpectedly attacked by the Nabob's general, and seized with a panic, and retired in disorder to Pondicherry with considerable loss. Dupleix who had a thorough knowledge of the native character, now set himself to detach the Nabob from the English alliance. The singular departure of the English fleet in the preceding year, and the arrival of four French vessels with reinforcements, enabled him to decry the one, and to extol the resources of the other. An Asiatic prince never considers himself bound by any principle of honour, or even consistency; his own supposed advantage is the only rule of his conduct, and he changes sides without the smallest scruple. Dupleix succeeded in persuading the Nabob that the English were the weaker party, and the Nabob did not hesitate for a moment to abandon them. His son was accordingly sent to Pondicherry to form an alliance with Dupleix, by whom he was received with the greatest ostentation, and loaded with presents. The French now advanced against St. David a second time with a greater force, but a large fleet was descried in the offing, which proved to be an English armament, and the besiegers retreated rapidly to Pondicherry.

Fruitless siege of Pondicherry, 1748

This armament, which had been despatched from England for the defence of the Company's settlements, under the command of Admiral Boscawen, arrived off Fort St. David on the 9th of August, and was

immediately joined by the vessels of Admiral Griffin. The junction of the two squadrons formed the largest maritime force which had ever been seen in the eastern seas. It consisted of more than thirty vessels, none of which were of less than 500 tons, and thirteen of them men of war of the line. The English troops now on the Coast comprised in all 3,720 Europeans, 300 topasses, and 2,000 sepoys, equal to any enterprise. The Nabob still changing sides as the power of the English or the French appeared to predominate, promised the aid of a body of his troops. Every bosom was beating with the hope that the loss of Madras would be avenged by the capture of Pondicherry; but the English were subjected to a bitter disappointment. The army began its march to that settlement on the 8th of August, and the siege was prosecuted for fifty days, but, notwithstanding the valour of the officers and men, it was at length disgracefully raised, after more than a thousand European lives had been sacrificed. Seldom, if ever, has any siege in India exhibited more egregious blunders on the part of the commanders. Dupleix announced the abandonment of the siege as a magnificent triumph of the French arms, to all the various princes of India, not forgetting even the great Mogul, and he received from all quarters the most flattering compliments on his own ability. and the valour of his nation. For the time, the French were regarded as the greatest European power in the Deccan, and the English, who had not only lost their own settlement, but failed to capture that of their rivals, sunk into contempt. Seven days after the retirement of the English force, information was received of the suspension of hostilities in Europe, which ended in the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and Madras was restored to the East India Company.

Effects of this two years' war

This war, of little more than two years' duration, opens a new era in the politics of India. In 1746, neither the English nor the French were viewed by the native rulers in any other light than as inoffensive traders. By the end of 1748, they had come out as great military powers

whose alliance or opposition was an object of importance to the princes of the country It might have been expected that on the return of peace both parties would lay aside their armour, and return to the counting-house. But as the eloquent historian of these transactions, who was at the time at Madras, observes, "The war had brought to Pondicherry and Fort St. David, a number of troops greatly superior to any which either of the two nations had assembled in India, and as if it was impossible that a military force which feels itself capable of enterprises should refrain from attempting them, the two settlements, no longer authorised to fight with each other, took the resolution of employing their arms in the contests of the princes of the country; the English with great indiscretion, the French with the utmost ambition."

Expedition to Devi-cotta, 1749. The English were the first to take the field. The little principality of Tanjore, seventy miles long and sixty in breadth, with the history of which the reader is already acquainted, was at this time governed by Pretap Sing, the fifth in succession from the Mahratta chieftain who had conquered it. His brother, Sahoojee, who had been deposed for his imbecility, applied to the governor of Madras to reseat him on the throne, engaging to defray all the expenses of the expedition and to cede the town and district of Devi-cotta, at the mouth of the Coleroon. The English had no right to interfere in this foreign quarrel, but their troops were unemployed, and the opportunity was very tempting. This forms, perhaps, the only instance during a century of warfare of an expedition undertaken by them without any plea of necessity The force which was sent to conquer Tanjore consisted of 430 Europeans and 1,000 sepoys, with eight field pieces and mortars, under the command of Major Stringer Lawrence, the first of that long train of heroes who have rendered the British name illustrious on the plains of Hindostan. The commencement of the siege was inauspicious. The typhoon which ushered in the monsoon, sunk some of the largest of the ships, and inflicted such destruction

on the army as to oblige the Major to retire to Porto Novo to refit. It would be tedious to follow the varied events of the siege, which was our first and most clumsy attempt to take an Indian fort and which derives its chief interest from the circumstance that it afforded the first opportunity for developing the genius of Clive. The fort was captured after two unsuccessful attacks; but it had now become manifest to the Madras Presidency that the cause of our *protegée* was unpopular and hopeless. The raja of Tanjore, menaced by Chunda Sahib, offered to defray all the expenses incurred by the Company in war, to cede Devi-cotta with the district around it, and to grant a pension of 50,000 rupees a year to his disinherited brother. These terms were accepted, and the troops returned to Madras.

Dupleix's ambitious designs.

While the English army was thus wasting its strength on the walls of Devi-cotta, Dupleix was playing a higher game. He had seen a thousand European troops disperse an army of ten thousand native soldiers like a flock of sheep, and he had received the congratulations of the native princes on the success of his arms. He had at his disposal an army capable of any enterprise, and, in Bussy, a general fit to command it. He determined, therefore, to take advantage of the confusion of the times, and the prestige he had acquired, to set up a French empire in the Deccan. Chunda Sahib was considered by the natives of the Carnatic, the ablest soldier in the country, and the only man who could deliver them from the yoke of the hated Anwar-ood-deen, and Dupleix at once perceived how greatly his ambitious projects would be forwarded if Chunda Sahib were placed on the throne of the Carnatic by his instrumentality. He accordingly opened a correspondence with that prince, who had been a prisoner for eight years at Satara, through the medium of his wife who was residing at Pondicherry under the protection of the French government. After much negotiation Dupleix succeeded in obtaining the liberation of Chunda Sahib by the payment of seven lacs of rupees, and he appeared on the

confines of the Carnatic with 6,000 troops whom he had enlisted, when the death of the old Nizam, at Hyderabad, gave a new turn to public affairs.

Death of the Nizam, 1748.

Towards the end of 1748 Nizam-ool-moolk, the soobadar of the Deccan, the great founder of the kingdom of Hyderabad, closed his long and eventful career at the age of a hundred and four. His eldest son, Ghazee-ood-deen, was at the time high in office at Delhi. His second son, Nazir Jung, who was with his father at the period of his decease and in command of the army, immediately seized the public treasure and the supreme authority, giving out that his elder brother had resigned the office of soobadar to him. But there was a grandson of the old Nizam whom he had cherished with great affection, and who now aspired to this honour. He affirmed that it had been conferred on him by the emperor himself, with the title of Mozuffer Jung, and he assembled an army of 25,000 men with which he hovered on the west of Golconda, watching the opportunity of action. Chunda Sahib, hearing of the position and designs of the young prince, immediately offered him the service of his sword. He was received in the camp with open arms, and his troops were at once taken into the pay of Mozuffer, who was persuaded to appoint him Nabob of the Carnatic, and to march, in the first instance, to the conquest of that province, on the ground that its resources would be invaluable in the struggle with Nazir Jung. A communication was at the same time made to Dupleix, inviting him to join the confederacy, and offering him great advantages for the French Company. The proposal, if it did not originate with Dupleix, was most acceptable to him, and a contingent of 400 Europeans and 2,000 sepoys was immediately sent to join the confederates. Their united force, swelled in its progress to 40,000 men, entered the Carnatic and began to levy contributions. The Nabob, Anwar-ood-deen, advanced to repel the invasion with a force of only half that number, and a battle was fought in July, 1749, at Amboor, fifty miles from Arcot, which decided the fate of

the Carnatic. The army of the Nabob was completely routed, chiefly through the valour of Bussy's troops; the Nabob himself was shot dead in the action, and his son, Mahomed Ali, fled to Trichinopoly, where the family and the treasures of the deceased Nabob had been deposited.

The English aid Mahomed Ali, 1749.

Mozuffer Jung marched the next day to Arcot, and assumed the state and dignity of soobadar of the Deccan, conferring the government of the Carnatic on Chunda Sahib. From thence they proceeded together to Pondicherry, where Dupleix received them with all the oriental ceremonies due to the rank they had assumed, and was rewarded by the grant of eighty-one villages. Mahomed Ali, on his arrival at Trichinopoly, came to the conclusion that it could not be successfully defended against the victorious army of Chunda Sahib, backed by his French allies, although it was one of the strongest and most important fortresses in the south. He sent, therefore, to implore the assistance of the English governor of Madras, who was, however, without any instructions for such an emergency. The Madras Council had bitterly repented of their wild expedition to Devi-cotta, and were anxious not to involve their masters again in the risk of alliances and disputes with the native powers. At the same time, they could not shut their eyes to the danger arising from the ambitious schemes of Dupleix, and the ascendancy he was acquiring in the Carnatic. But they were incapable of that resolution which the crisis demanded, and they aided Mahomed Ali only with the contemptible force of 120 men, while by an act of incredible fatuity they sent back the fleet with the greater part of the land forces to England. Dupleix urged Chunda Sahib to lose no time in marching against Trichinopoly, where the adherents of the deceased Nabob were maturing their plans, and he placed 800 French troops at his disposal. But Chunda Sahib had an old quarrel to settle with the raja of Tanjore, and was resolved to exact a heavy contribution from him. He immediately marched against that town, and,

after two months had been wasted in the siege, the raja engaged to pay down seventy lacs of rupees to the allies, and to cede more than eighty villages to the French, around their settlement at Carical. With the view of gaining time, he doled out the money in driblets, but before the first instalment had been counted down, Dupleix informed the allies that Nazir Jung was approaching the Carnatic with an overwhelming force; upon which they broke up their encampment in dismay, and retired to the vicinity of Pondicherry,

Defeat of Mozuffer Jung and Chunda Sahib, 1749.

The army with which Nazir Jung entered the Carnatic to drive out the two adventurers did not fall short of 300,000 men, one-half of whom consisted of cavalry, and a tenth of mercenary Mahrattas, with 800 guns and 1,300 elephants. He summoned to his standard all the tributaries of Hyderabad, and, among others, the Patan nabobs of Cuddapah, Kurnool, and Savanore. Their ancestors had held those districts under the crowns of Beejapore and of Golconda, and they themselves were at the head of the Patans, who were constantly streaming down from Afganistan to seek employment and plunder in India. The encampment of Nazir Jung was established at Valdore, about fifteen miles from Pondicherry, and the Governor of Madras sent an English force of 600 Europeans to join it under Major Lawrence. Dupleix, on his part, augmented the French contingent with Mozuffer Jung and Chunda Sahib to 2,000 European bayonets. But on the eve of the day fixed for battle, thirteen French officers, who were dissatisfied with their share of the treasure obtained from the raja of Tanjore, basely deserted their colours and returned to Pondicherry. The soldiers were panic struck, and followed their example. Chunda Sahib fought his way back gallantly to the French settlement, but Mozuffer Jung surrendered himself to his uncle, who took an oath to protect him, and then placed him in captivity.

Dupleix's skilful

The ambitious schemes of Dupleix were inter-

movements, 1749. rupted by this reverse, but he showed himself as great an adept in oriental intrigue as if he had been bred a Mahomedan courtier. He immediately opened a negotiation with Nazir Jung, and was allowed to send an envoy to his camp, who had thus an opportunity of ascertaining the precise position of affairs. Though the mission of his emissary was not successful, he discovered that the three Patan nabobs mentioned above were dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Nizam, and ready to revolt. Dupleix established a correspondence with them, and, with the view of securing their confidence and intimidating the Nizam, sent an expedition to Masulipatam, and captured the fort; attacked the camp of Mahomed Ali, and, after a prodigous slaughter, constrained him to fly with only one or two attendants, and then seized on Ginjee, the stronghold of the south, the siege of which had detained Zulfikar Khan nine years. These daring exploits at length roused Nazir Jung from the voluptuous sloth in which he was buried at Arcot, and induced him to send two of his officers to renew the negotiations with Dupleix. But Dupleix, seeing the game in his own hands, rose in his demands, and required the liberation of Mozuffer Jung and the restoration of his estates, together with the acknowledgment of Chunda Sahib as Nabob of the Carnatic, and the cession of Masulipatam and its dependencies to the French.

Nazir Jung attacked and killed, 1749. Nazir Jung, indignant at these audacious proposals, instantly ordered his army to march against the French. Though it had been reduced in number by the dismissal of many detachments, fifteen days were occupied in marching a distance of only thirty miles. Scarcity and disease began to thin its ranks, and the Nabob, weary of a war in which he had wasted a twelvemonth to no purpose, conceded all the demands of Dupleix, and they were embodied in a treaty. But Dupleix had been for seven months in correspondence with the discontented nabobs, and on the

maturity of the scheme, had ordered his commandant at Ginjee to proceed against the camp of Nazir Jung, as soon as he received a requisition from them. Their summons unfortunately reached him before the ratification of the treaty, in total ignorance of which, he marched on the 4th of December, 1749, towards the Nizam's camp, with 800 Europeans and 3,000 sepoys. After a long and fatiguing march of sixteen miles, he came in sight of it as it stretched over an area of eighteen miles, and immediately commenced the attack. His small force was repeatedly charged by different divisions of the enemy, but his field-pieces shattered their ranks, and by mid-day half their army was in flight. Nazir Jung could not credit the report, that the French with whom he had just concluded a treaty were engaged in attacking his troops; but when he was assured of the fact, he rode up with indignant haste to the three nabobs, who were marching to join the French, and singling out the Nabob of Cuddapah, reproached him with his cowardice and treachery. The Nabob lodged two balls in the heart of his unfortunate master, and having caused his head to be struck off, hastened to present it to Mozuffer Jung.

Mozuffer Jung becomes Nizam, 1750.

Mozuffer Jung was immediately released from confinement, and saluted Soobadar of the Deccan. "Never," remarks the great historian of this period, "since the days of Cortez and Pizarro, did so small a force decide the fate of so large a sovereignty." The new Nizam proceeded to Pondicherry, and was welcomed with a grand display of eastern pomp. The day following his arrival he was installed as Soobadar, and Dupleix, arrayed in the gorgeous robes of a Mahomedan omra, appeared as the chief actor in the pageant. Chunda Sahib was declared Nabob of the Carnatic, and Dupleix was nominated governor on the part of the Mogul, of all the country lying south of the Kistna. Thus had this daring politician, in the brief space of twenty months, outrun even his own large scheme of ambition. He had not only created a Nabob of the Carnatic, but even a

Viceroy of the Deccan, and had obtained the supreme control of a kingdom larger than France.

Death of Mozuffer Jung, 1751. But Mozuffer Jung was not to enjoy this dignity long. After having made a profuse distribution of the treasures of Nazir Jung, amounting to two crores of rupees among his partisans, he left Pondicherry on his return to Hyderabad on the 4th of January, 1751, accompanied by a French force of 300 Europeans and 2,000 sepoys, under the command of Bussy. He had not proceeded more than sixty leagues, when the three Patan nabobs, who were dissatisfied with the rewards they had received on the occasion of his elevation, broke into open rebellion. Bussy's force was immediately called forth, and his artillery swept down their battalions; the treacherous Nabob of Savanore was hacked to pieces, and the revolt was quenched in the blood of those who had excited it. But the irritated Nizam, rejecting the sound advice of Bussy, insisted on the pursuit of the fugitives, and was struck dead by the javelin of the nabob of Kurnool, who was in his turn slain in the conflict. The whole camp was thrown into the greatest confusion by this unexpected event, but Bussy never lost his presence of mind. He assembled the bewildered generals and ministers, and, such was the influence he had acquired, that he induced them to confer the vacant dignity on Salabut Jung, the third son of the old Nizam, who was then a prisoner in the camp. Tranquillity was immediately restored, and the army resumed its progress. Leaving it now to pursue its march to the north, we turn to the movements of Chunda Sahib.

Siege of Trichinopoly, 1751. Chunda Sahib proceeded from Pondicherry with 8,000 of his own troops and 800 French auxiliaries to Arcot, in February, 1751, to receive homage as Nabob of the Carnatic, and then advanced to the siege of Trichinopoly. Mr. Saunders, now Governor of Madras, felt that a great error had been committed in permitting Dupleix to obtain such a footing in the south, and he resolved to counteract his schemes by a more decisive support of the

cause of Mahomed Ali. A large detachment was accordingly sent to the relief of the small English garrison cooped up in the fort of Trichinopoly, but the troops of our ally scarcely exceeded a tenth of those assembled under the banner of Chunda Sahib. Captain Clive, who accompanied the reinforcement, returned to Madras and urged on the Governor the importance of creating a diversion, and suggested an expedition to Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic. Clive, the founder of the British empire in India, had gone out to Madras in the civil service of the East India Company in 1744, and was present at the surrender of that town to Labourdonnais, two years after. Following the bent of his genius, he exchanged the pen for the sword, and obtained an ensign's commission. He distinguished himself in the operations before Devi-cotta, where he attracted the admiration of Major Lawrence. He was also at the abortive and disastrous siege of Pondicherry under admiral Boscawen. Mr. Saunders adopted his advice, and confided the Arcot expedition to his charge, though he was only twenty-six years of age at the time. The only force that could be spared from Madras consisted of 200 Europeans, and 300 sepoys, and eight field pieces. Of the eight officers who accompanied it one-half were civilians, attracted to the expedition by the example of Clive, and six of them had never been in action. But Clive had seen from the ramparts of Madras a mere handful of Europeans defeat and disperse ten thousand native soldiers; and he had confidence in his own powers. During the march of the troops they were overtaken by a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain; but they continued their progress with the utmost coolness, and this circumstance impressed the superstitious garrison with so exalted an idea of their prowess, that they were allowed to enter the fort without opposition. The expedition produced the desired effect; Chunda Sahib was obliged to detach a large force to Arcot, and the pressure on the English garrison at Trichinopoly was alleviated.

Career of Clive.

Siege of Arcot by Clive, 1751.

The fort of Arcot was more than a mile in circumference, with a low and lightly-built parapet; several of the towers were decayed, and the ditch, where not fordable, was dry and choked up. From the day of its occupation, Clive had been incessantly employed in repairing the defences, but the place seemed little capable of standing a siege. Of his eight officers, one had been killed and two wounded in successive encounters with the enemy, and a fourth had returned to Madras. The troops fit for duty had been reduced by casualties and disease to 120 Europeans and 200 sepoys, and it was with this small body that Clive sustained, for seven weeks, the incessant assaults of 10,000 native troops and 150 Europeans. On the last day of the siege the enemy endeavoured to storm the fort, but, during a conflict which lasted more than eighteen hours, they were repulsed on every point, and the next morning were seen to break up their encampment and retire. "Thus ended this memorable siege," as Orme remarks, "maintained fifty days, under every disadvantage of situation and force, by a handful of men, in their first campaign, with a spirit worthy of the most veteran troops, and conducted by the young commander with indefatigable activity, unshaken confidence, and undaunted courage; and notwithstanding he had at this time neither read books or conversed with men capable of giving him much instruction in the military art, all the resources which he employed in the defence of Arcot were such as were dictated by the best masters in the art of war." His character was completely defined in a single expression of the great minister of England, William Pitt, when he styled him the "heaven-born general."

Defeat of the French, 1752.

Chunda Sahib still continued to beleaguer Trichinopoly with a large force, and Mahomed Ali was induced, by his terror, to invite the aid of the regent of Mysore and Morari Rao, the Mahratta chief of Gooty, as well as the general of the Tanjore troops. Clive, on his return from Arcot, proceeded to Trichinopoly, and was

employed in various enterprises of a minor character, which, however, served to mature his military talents. The campaign was brought to an early and successful issue by Major Lawrence, who, in June, 1752, compelled the French commander Law, to surrender at discretion, with all his troops, stores, and artillery. Chunda Sahib, deserted by his own officers, yielded himself up to the Tanjorine general, who appeared to be the least inveterate of his enemies. The general took the most solemn oath to conduct him in safety to a French settlement, but immediately after caused him to be assassinated, at the instigation of Mahomed Ali, who, after feasting his eyes with the sight of his murdered rival, bound his head to the neck of a camel, and paraded it five times round the walls of the city.

Discontent of the Mysore Regert, 1752.

The war with Chunda Sahib had no sooner terminated, than the English found themselves involved in hostilities with the allies who had co-operated with them in the cause of Mahomed Ali; so utterly impossible did they find it to shake off their connection with country politics, when once entangled in them. The Mysore regent came forward and claimed possession of Trichinopoly and its dependencies, and the Nabob was constrained to confess that he had secretly contracted to transfer the city, and the territory south of it, to the Mysore prince, as the price of his alliance. It is easy to conceive the disgust of Major Lawrence on finding that the fortress which his own government had drained their treasury to secure for the Nabob, was now to be made over to a native chief who had rendered no assistance, and whose fidelity was exceedingly doubtful. He retired in disgust to Madras taking care, however, to leave Captain Dalton, with 200 Europeans and 1,500 sepoys, to guard the citadel against the artifices of the regent. Meanwhile Dupleix, having received large reinforcements from Europe, proclaimed the son of Chunda Sahib nabob of the Carnatic, and sent a powerful force to renew the siege of Trichinopoly. But Major Lawrence over-

Battle of Bahoor, Aug., 1752.

took the French at Bahoor, inflicted a signal defeat on them, and a second time captured their guns and ammunition.

The Mysoreans and Mahrattas join the French, 1752.

The Mysore regent, seeing it vain to expect the acquisition of Trichinopoly, or any portion of the sum of eighty lacs of rupees, which he demanded in lieu of it, transferred his alliance, in conjunction with Morari Rao, to the French. The town was regularly besieged by the confederates, who experienced many vicissitudes during the two years the investment lasted. These various actions it is not necessary to detail, and it may be sufficient to state that the French were three times worsted by the superior strategy of Lawrence, and that, on one occasion, the English sustained a memorable reverse. At length Morari Rao, on the receipt of three lacs of rupees from Mahomed Ali, consented to withdraw his force, and not to appear again in the field against the English, the Nabob, or the raja of Mysore. Before his departure, however, he contrived to extort a further sum from the Mysore regent, under the threat of attacking him He was the ablest and the boldest native general of his time, and his little army, composed of Mahrattas, Mahomedans, and Rajpoots, was the most compact and formidable body of native troops in the south. They had stood the assault of European troops, and, what was of more importance, the fire of field-pieces, which were now, for the first time, introduced into Indian warfare, and they had unshaken confidence in each other, and in their chief.

Termination of the war. 1754.

The French and English had now been engaged in mutual hostilities for nearly five years, madly exhausting their resources in the cause of native princes. The Court of Directors were anxious to put an end to this anomalous and wasting warfare, and, in 1753, made an earnest appeal to the ministers of the crown for aid, either to prosecute, or to terminate it. The ministry ordered a squadron and a military force to India, and then remonstrated with the French government on the proceedings of their functionaries

in the East. Anxious to avoid a war between the two countries, the French cabinet despatched M. Godeheu, one of the directors of their East India Company, to India, with orders to supersede Dupleix, to assume the control of their affairs, and bring these hostilities to an immediate close. He landed at Pondicherry, on the 2nd of August, 1754, and all the schemes of ambition in which Dupleix had been so long engaged, were at once quenched. He immediately laid down his office; but his vanity was soothed by being allowed to retain the emblems of his "Moorish dignity—his flags, and ensigns, and instruments of music, and the dress of his nabobship, in which he went, in great pomp, to dine with M. Godeheu on the feast of St. Louis."

Treaty between the English and French, 1754.

The negotiators, M. Godeheu and Mr. Saunders, agreed upon a suspension of arms at their first meeting. A conditional treaty was soon after signed, the salient points of which were, that both parties should, for ever, "renounce all Moorish government and dignity," and never interfere in the differences of the native princes; that the possessions held by both nations should eventually be of equal value, but that they should retain all their acquisitions till a final treaty was concluded in Europe. Mahomed Ali was, likewise, to be confirmed as Nabob of the Carnatic. The balance of advantage was on the side of the French. Independently of the Northern Sircars, held by Bussy, they remained in possession of a territory yielding eighteen lacs of rupees a year, while that occupied by the English was not of more value than ten lacs; but, the East India Company was rid of the restless ambition of Dupleix, which outweighed every other consideration. The treaty was, however, little respected by those who made it. The ink was scarcely dry before the Madras government sent an auxiliary force with the army of their Nabob, to subjugate the districts of Madura and Tinnevelly, and the French despatched a body of troops to subdue Terriore. And as to any definitive treaty in Europe, every prospect of it was extin-

guished by the war, which soon after broke out between England and France.

Fate of Dupleix.

Dupleix embarked for Europe in September, 1754. He had expended a sum exceeding thirty lacs of rupees in the public service, partly from his private estate, and partly from funds raised on his own bonds. Godeheu refused to audit his accounts, and referred the adjustment of them to the Directors of the French East India Company, in Paris, who, to their disgrace, basely disallowed the greater portion of the claim, under the pretence that these expenses had been incurred without their sanction. Dupleix was consigned to neglect and poverty—the second instance of national ingratitude towards Indian servants. He merited a different return from his own nation; for, whatever may have been the defects of his character, the French never had an officer more desirous, or more capable, of extending their reputation and power. At a time when Europeans, without exception, entertained a morbid dread of native armies, he boldly encountered them in the field, and demonstrated their weakness; and, if he had been adequately supported from France, he would probably have succeeded in the great object of his life—the establishment of a French empire in India.

Death of Sahoo, 1748—Mahratta politics.

Before we follow the career of Bussy, in the north, it is necessary to glance at the progress of Mahratta affairs. Sahoo, the grandson of Sevajee, who had been seated on the Mahratta throne for more than fifty years, and had always been imbecile, now exhibited signs of idiocy—dressing up a favourite dog in gold-brocade and jewels, and placing his own plumed turban on his head in open durbar. All substantial power had long since passed into the hands of the Peshwa; but the wife of Sahoo was his mortal foe, and, at this crisis, endeavoured to weaken him, by persuading her husband, now in his dotage, to adopt his kinsman the raja of Kolapore. But Tara Bye, who had taken no share in Mahratta politics for more than twenty years, since the

death of her son, now came forward and conveyed information to Sahoo, that her daughter-in-law had been delivered of a posthumous child, whose life she had succeeded with great difficulty in preserving, and who was now the nearest heir to the throne. The Peshwa, whether he believed the story or not, determined to support it, and advanced to Satara with a powerful army. Every avenue to the couch of the dying monarch was strictly guarded by his wife; but the Peshwa found the means of access to him, and induced him to affix his seal to a most extraordinary document, by which all the authority in the state was transferred to the Peshwa, on condition that he should maintain the royal title and dignity of the house of Sevajee, in the person of Tara Bye's grandson. Sahoo died two days after the execution of this document, and the Peshwa dexterously constrained his widow to ascend the funeral pile by giving out that she had announced her intention to do so; and from such an announcement she could not recede without infamy.

Supremacy of the Peshwa, 1750

Balajee Rao, the Peshwa, immediately proclaimed the adopted prince sovereign of the Mahrattas, under the title of Ram raja. The Mahratta feudatories who had been summoned to the Court, accompanied the Peshwa to Poona—thenceforward the capital of Mahratta power—to confirm and complete the provisions of Sahoo's testament. Rughoojee Bhonslay received new sunnuds for levying *chout* in Bengal and Behar; the province of Malwa was divided between Holkar and Sindia, and the old cabinet of Ministers was confirmed in office. These appointments were made in the name of Ram raja, but they served to strengthen the authority of the Peshwa. The year 1750 may, therefore, be considered the period at which the power of the Mahratta state was definitively transferred to his family, and the descendant of Sevajee became a puppet at Satara. But Tara Bye, though seventy years of age, was mortified by this alienation of all power from the regal sceptre, and called to her aid the troops of the Guickwar,

now the substantive ruler of Guzerat. At the same time she urged her grandson to strike for his independence, but he had no spirit for such a task, and she reproached him bitterly with his degeneracy, and then placed him in confinement. The Peshwa, who was then on a distant expedition, hastened to Satara, and, by an act of treachery which has sullied his character, seized on the Guickwar, but left Tara Bye unmolested. He felt that by consigning the legitimate monarch to a prison she was in reality playing his game.

Progress of Bussy, 1752.

To return to the progress of Bussy. After the defeat of the three Patan nabobs and the elevation of Salabut Jung, he accompanied the army to Golconda, where he and his officers received the most liberal donations. In June the Nizam proceeded with great pomp to the city of Aurungabad, then considered second in magnitude and importance only to Delhi. But Ghazee-ood-deen, the elder brother of Salabut Jung, who held one of the highest posts at the court of Delhi, on hearing of the death of Nazir Jung, obtained a patent of appointment as Soobadar of the Deccan, and excited the Peshwa by the promise of large jaygeers to come down and attack Salabut Jung. The Mahrattas employed all the arts of their national warfare against Bussy, to whom the Nizam had confided the management of the campaign, but the superiority of European tactics and valour baffled all their efforts. The French artillery mowed down their ranks; they were routed in every encounter, and chased back to within thirty miles of their capital. The Peshwa now hastened to offer terms of conciliation. Salabut Jung's army was, moreover, on the verge of mutiny, for want of pay and food, and he adopted the advice of Bussy and rid himself of this troublesome foe, by a cession of territory equivalent to that which Ghazee-ood-deen had promised him. Roghoojee Bhonslay, who had also been incited to attack Salabut Jung and lay waste his territories, was bought off with similar concessions. Meanwhile, Ghazee-ood-deen himself advanced to Aurungabad with an army of 150,000 men, and immediately

dispatched an envoy to Dupleix, offering him the most brilliant advantages if he would detach the corps of Bussy from the interests of his rival and brother. To conciliate Dupleix, he went so far as to send him a sheet of blank paper with the broad seal of the Mogul empire affixed to it, for him to fill up with his own terms. But Salabut Jung cut short all his schemes by inducing his own mother to send him a poisoned dish, which she knew he would partake of, when he found that it had been prepared with her own hands.

Bussy obtains the Northern Sircars, 1753.

The ascendancy which Bussy had acquired at the court of Hyderabad raised him many enemies, and even the minister, who was under the greatest obligations to him, became his determined foe, and plotted his destruction. In January, 1753, Bussy was obliged to visit the coast to recruit his health, and the minister during his absence endeavoured to break up his force by withholding the payment of their allowances, and subjecting them to a variety of insults. Bussy was obliged to return before his health was confirmed, and marched with a body of 4,500 men to Aurungabad, where the court lay. The minister, distracted by the appearance of this force, determined to seek a reconciliation, to which Bussy, who wished to avoid extremities, was not less inclined. But to avoid all future occasion of discord regarding the pay of his troops, which amounted to forty lacs of rupees a year, he obtained the cession of the four districts on the coast, generally known as the Northern Sircars. By this bold stroke the French acquired an uninterrupted line of coast, six hundred miles in extent, yielding a revenue of fifty lacs of rupees a year, which rendered them absolute masters of a greater dominion than had been in the possession of any European power in India, not excepting even the Portuguese. The districts were admirably adapted by the bounty of Providence and the industry of the inhabitants for a large and lucrative commerce; they were protected on one side by a chain of mountains, and on the other by the sea, and they afforded every fa-

cility for the introduction of reinforcements and munitions of war into the Deccan.

Proceedings of the Mahrattas, 1754 55.

The Peshwa, having completed his arrangements in the territory ceded to him by Salabut Jung and terminated his differences with Tara Bye, sent an army to levy contributions in the Carnatic, and the expedition was considered the most profitable he had ever undertaken. Where the villages and towns refused immediate compliance with the demands of the Mahrattas, the local officers were seized, and compelled by threats and sometimes by torture, to make a settlement. Where no ready money could be obtained, bills were exacted from the bankers and forcibly cashed in other parts of the country. When a garrison presumed to offer resistance it was at once put to the sword. On the cessation of the rains, Rogoonath Rao, his fighting brother—the Raghoba of British Indian history—was dispatched to plunder Guzerat. From thence he proceeded to the north with a body of Sindia's and Holkar's troops, and after ravaging the territories still belonging to Delhi, exacted heavy payments from the Rajpoots and Jauts.

Attack on Mysore and Savanore, 1755-56.

Bussy, on his return to Hyderabad at the beginning of 1755, found Salabut Jung about to proceed to Mysore, to extort tribute. The Mysoreans then before Trichinopoly were acting in alliance with the French, but Bussy, as a feudatory, was obliged to "attend the stirrup" of his suzerain, though much against his will. The imbecile raja at Seringapatam directed his brother, the Regent, to hurry back with his troops from the Carnatic, and he was obliged to return without receiving the smallest compensation for the heavy expense incurred in the support of 20,000 troops for three years in that luckless expedition. So completely had the treasury been drained by this continued requirement that when the demand of the Nizam had been compromised, through the mediation of Bussy, for fifty-six lacs of rupees, it became necessary to despoil not only the members of the court, female as well as

male, of their jewels and plate, but also the temples of the idols. The next year Salabut Jung marched against the nabob of Savanore, who had refused to acknowledge his authority. Morari Rao had equally resisted the authority of the Peshwa, and the Peshwa and the Nizam marched against their refractory vassals with a combined army of 100,000 men. It was in the presence of this force, the flower of the Deccan soldiery, that Bussy opened fire on the fort of Savanore from his splendid artillery, in such style as to astound the allied princes, and constrain the enemy to send immediate proposals for a surrender; and an accommodation was soon after effected through his good offices.

Intrigues against Bussy, 1756.

The superiority which Bussy had exhibited in this expedition served only to inflame the animosity of the Nizam's minister, and increase his anxiety to rid the Deccan of this foreign influence. It was even determined, if necessary, to assassinate him. As soon, therefore, as peace was concluded with Savanore, Bussy was ordered to quit the territories of the Nizam, who was said to have no farther occasion for his services. He received the message without any feeling of resentment, and immediately began his march back to Masulipatam, but at the same time desired the government of Pondicherry to dispatch every soldier who could be spared to that port without any delay. On the departure of Bussy the minister of the Nizam applied to Madras for a body of English troops to aid in completing the expulsion of the French from the state. The two nations were then at peace, and a convention had been entered into which bound the two Companies to avoid all interference in the quarrels of the native powers. But the bait was too tempting to be resisted, and the government of Madras was on the point of sending a large force to demolish the power of Bussy in the Deccan, when intelligence arrived of the sack of Calcutta, and another direction was given to the expedition. Bussy, while yet two hundred miles from the coast, found his ammunition running short and his military chest

exhausted, and turned aside to Hyderabad, where his influence would more readily procure supplies of every kind. On the 14th of June, 1756, he took up a position at Charmaul, in the neighbourhood of the city. Salabut Jung, whom he had raised from a prison to the throne, summoned every tributary and dependent in the kingdom to his standard, and brought its whole strength down to crush his benefactor. Bussy defended himself with his usual skill and gallantry for nearly two months, but his position was daily becoming more critical, when Law, marching up from the coast with reinforcements through a wild and mountainous track, and baffling a corps of 25,000 men sent to oppose him, succeeded in forming a junction with his chief at Charmaul. Salabut Jung, in a fever of alarm, sent proposals of peace, which Bussy was not unwilling to accept, and his authority became more firmly established in the Deccan than ever.

Bussy at the summit of success, 1757—58.

Towards the close of the year, Bussy proceeded to the districts assigned to him on the coast, to restore his authority, which had been impaired during the recent conflict, and he devoted the next year to the regulation of the government, in which he exhibited not less talent than he had shown in the field. Early in the year, he received a pressing request from the young Nabob of Moorshedabad, to march up and assist him in expelling Clive from Bengal; but, on hearing of the capture of Chandernagore and the imbecility of the Nabob, he resolved not to move out of his province. But, as war had now been declared between France and England, he proceeded to capture Vizagapatam and the other English factories on the coast, but he treated the officers with the utmost liberality. During his absence from the court of Salabut Jung, that helpless prince was threatened with destruction by the machinations of his unprincipled minister, who had taken possession of the fortress of Dowlutabad, and of his own ambitious brothers, one of whom, Nizam Ali, had obtained possession of the royal seal, and usurped the authority of the state. The Mahrattas did

not, of course, fail to throw themselves into the arena, when they saw the prospect of booty. The crown was falling from the head of Salabut-Jung, and the country was on the eve of a convulsion, when Bussy started with his army from Rajmundry, and, traversing a country never seen by Europeans, reached Aurungabad, a distance of 400 miles, in twenty-one days. There he found four armies assembled by the different parties to take a share in the struggle for power and plunder. His sudden appearance, with a force which all were obliged to respect, combined with the natural ascendancy of his character, at once extinguished all intrigues. The authority of Salabut Jung was restored; the venomous minister was killed in a tumult provoked by his own devices; Nizam Ali was constrained to fly to Boorhanpore; and Bussy, by a *coup d'état*, secured the citadel of Dowlutabad, the strongest in the Deccan.

Extinction of Bussy's power 1758.

Bussy, who had for seven years exercised the chief influence on the destinies of the Deccan, had now reached the summit of his grandeur. The provinces on the coast, which were governed with great wisdom and moderation, furnished abundant resources for the support of his troops, and he had secured an impregnable stronghold in the heart of the country. He had placed the interests of his nation on a foundation not to be shaken by ordinary contingencies. With a genius which was in every respect fully equal to that of Clive, he had succeeded in establishing the authority of France in the southern division of India, to the same extent as the authority of England had been established in the north; and it appeared, at the time, by no means improbable, that the empire of India would be divided between the two nations. But the power of the one was destined to permanence and expansion, the prospects of the other were swept away by the folly of one man. At the commencement of the war in 1756, Lally was sent out as Governor-General of the French possessions in India, and immediately on his arrival, partly from caprice and partly

from envy, ordered Bussy to repair to Pondicherry, with all the troops not absolutely required for the protection of the maritime provinces. Bussy, who considered obedience the first duty of a soldier, withdrew his garrison from Dowlutabad; and, to the unutterable surprise of the native princes, who trembled at the sound of his name, retired with all his troops from the Deccan, just at the time when he had become arbiter of its fate. He took leave of Salabut Jung on the 18th of June, 1758; and, with his departure, the sun of French prosperity in India sunk, never to rise again.

War with France—Lally, 1758.

The command of the armament which the French government fitted out in 1756, to extinguish the British commerce in India, was committed to Count Lally. He was descended from one of those Irish Roman Catholic families who had emigrated to France after the expulsion of James the Second. He inherited that implacable hatred of England which the exiles carried with them, and was, therefore, fitted, as much by his own animosities, as by his military talents, for the mission on which he was sent. He had been more than forty years in military service, and had gained some distinction in the field; but, with all his bravery, he was headstrong, rash, and arrogant. He proceeded to India with a powerful fleet and army, and, after an indecisive action with the English at sea, landed at Pondicherry in April, 1758. Before twenty-four hours had elapsed he was on his march to the English settlement of Fort St. David. It was garrisoned by 870 Europeans and 1,600 sepoys, and, but for the extraordinary incapacity of the commander, might have made an honourable defence; but it was scandalously surrendered after a siege of only a month. The fortifications were immediately razed by Lally.

Lally attacks Tanjore, 1758.

The government of Madras naturally concluded that Fort St. George would be the next object of the victorious general, and they called in the garrisons from the subordinate stations, and prepared for a vigorous defence. Fortunately for them, Lally was as resolutely

thwarted by the civil authorities at Pondicherry, as Labourdonnais had been in 1746, and his movements were, at the same time, crippled for want of resources. To obtain a supply of money he looked, in the first instance, to Tanjore. Seven years before this time, the raja, pressed by the demands of Mozuffer Jung and Chunda Sahib, had given them a bond for fifty-six lacs of rupees, which, as being of little value, they had made over to their French allies. This document Lally determined now to turn to account, and proceeded with his army to enforce payment. The town was besieged for more than a fortnight, a practical breach had been made in the walls, when an English fleet suddenly appeared on the coast, off the factory of Carical, on which the French army depended for its supplies. Lally, who had only twenty cartridges left for each soldier, and but two days' provisions in the camp, was obliged to raise the siege and return to Pondicherry, poorer than he had left it. To his infinite chagrin, the French admiral resisted his pressing importunities and sailed away, with the whole fleet, to the Mauritius.

Unsuccessful siege of Madras, 1758—59.

Returning from Tanjore, Lally marched in the first instance to Arcot, which the venal governor surrendered without resistance. Bussy who had now arrived in the French camp from Hyderabad, implored Lally to employ the great resources at his command in strengthening the position which the French nation had acquired in the Nizam's dominions. But Lally's head was filled with the magnificent project of driving the English from Madras, and then from Calcutta, and, finally, from the coasts of India. The wise counsel of Bussy was treated with contempt, and Lally scarcely condescended to read his letters. Contrary to the remonstrances of the Council at Pondicherry, he now determined to undertake the siege of Madras. The English governor had taken advantage of the respite gained while Lally was otherwise employed, to strengthen the defences and to lay in a full supply of provisions. The enemy brought up a force of 2,700 Europeans and 4,000

sepoys, with 400 European cavalry, the first ever seen in India. The garrison consisted of 1,750 Europeans and 2,200 sepoys; but they were commanded by the veteran Lawrence, supported by thirteen officers who had been trained under his own eye, in the wars on this coast. Lally sat down before the fort on the 12th of December, 1758, and the siege was prosecuted for two months with the greatest vigour. There was no lack of military skill or courage on either side. But on the 16th of February, when a breach had been made which the French were about to storm, an English fleet appeared in the roads. The French army was seized with a sudden panic, the trenches were abandoned without orders, and Lally was obliged to retreat with precipitation, leaving fifty pieces of cannon behind him.

Coote baffles Lally, 1759.

In the course of the year there was an indecisive action at sea between the English and French fleets, and a variety of movements and counter-movements by land without any definite result. Towards the close of the year the French troops, who were twelve months in arrears, out of provisions, and in rags, unable any longer to bear their privations, broke into open munity. Lally succeeded, at length, in quelling the revolt, but was, at the same time, constrained to take the fatal step of dividing his force, and sending a large portion of it to the south in search of money and food. This movement gave a great advantage to the English; but they derived still greater service from the arrival of Colonel Coote, a general second only to Clive, to take the command of the army. He entered upon the campaign with his accustomed energy, and recaptured Wandewash, which the French had occupied in the previous year. In January, 1760, Lally moved up to retrieve this loss, and Coote compelled him to fight, to great disadvantage, in the neighbourhood of the town, which has given its name to the battle. Independently of sepoys, the French brought 2,250 and the English 1,900 Europeans into the field on this occasion. Lally sustained a complete and disastrous defeat, and Bussy

was taken prisoner; but, in consideration of his high character and his generous conduct to the English in the Northern Sircars, was immediately allowed to return to Pondicherry. Victory appeared now to desert the French standard. During the year 1760, Coote succeeded in depriving Lally of all the places he had taken, and Ginjee and Pondicherry were at length the only possessions remaining to the French. Lally's troops were not only without provisions, stores, or equipments, but without hope of obtaining any. The supplies from Europe had ceased. The settlements of the French, in Africa, in the West Indies, and in Canada, were attacked with such vigour as to leave them no leisure to attend to their affairs in the east. The extinction of the hope they had cherished of establishing an empire in India may thus be traced, indirectly, to those energetic measures by which William Pitt, the great minister of England, defeated their attempts to establish an empire in America.

Capture of Pondicherry, 1760.

Coote now prepared for the siege of Pondicherry, when an event occurred which had well nigh marred the prospects of the campaign. The fleet from England brought a new commission to Col. Monson, the second in command, which virtually superseded Coote. Instructions were, it is true, given that the commission should not be acted on during the continuance of the war, but Coote at once yielded the command of the expedition to the man whom the authorities at home had thought fit to put over his head, and retired to Madras. The gallant Lawrence had, in like manner, been superseded on a previous occasion, and this is, unfortunately, not the only instance we shall have to notice in the course of this narrative in which Government has deposed a general from his command in the full tide of victory. In the present case there was at least this excuse for the conduct of the people at home, that they were at the time ignorant of the great merit and brilliant success of Coote. Monson was baffled and wounded in his first independent enterprise, and requested Coote to resume the command of

operations, which he did not hesitate to do. Pondicherry was now subject to a close blockade. The brave garrison held out till, even at the scanty rations to which they had been reduced, provisions were left only for two days. Lally, worn out with fatigue, ill health, and vexation, capitulated on the 14th of January. As the victors marched into the town, their feelings were strongly affected by the skeleton figures to which the noblest forms in the two French regiments had been reduced by long and painful privation. Pondicherry was levelled with the ground. The instructions sent to Lally by his own government to annihilate the English settlements which he might capture had fallen into the hands of the Court of Directors, and they issued orders to retaliate, and in the course of a few months not a roof was left of this once fair and flourishing colony.

Fate of Lally.

Thus ended a war between the English and French for the exclusive possession of commerce and power in India, which, with the exception of less than a twelvemonth, had lasted for fifteen years, and it terminated by leaving the French without an ensign in the country. Their settlements were restored at the Peace of Paris, two years subsequently, but they have never again been able to raise their heads in India. Lally returned to Paris, and was thrown into the Bastile. The French ministry were happy to be able to turn the popular indignation created by the loss of India, from themselves on the unfortunate commander. A charge of high treason was brought against him which deprived him of the benefit of counsel, and he was condemned to death by the Parliament of Paris, drawn through the streets on a dung-cart, and executed the same day: "a murder committed by the sword of justice." Thus had the French government, in the course of fifteen years, destroyed three of their most eminent citizens, who had laboured with unexampled zeal and the highest patriotism to promote the national interests; and the expulsion of the French Company from the shores of India ceases to raise any emotion of regret

when it is viewed as the just retribution of their iniquitous proceedings.

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE CAPTURE OF CALCUTTA TO THE BATTLE OF PANNIPUT, 1756—1761.

DURING these transactions on the coast, a revolution was in progress in Bengal, which resulted in transferring the empire of India to a European power. But before entering on the narrative of these events, it is necessary to glance at the progress of affairs at Delhi, though they had long ceased to exercise any influence on the destinies of Hindostan.

Ahmed Khan Abdalee, 1747.

In the year 1747, a new and formidable enemy, from the region beyond the Indus, appeared on the scene, in the person of Ahmed Khan, the chief of the Abdalee tribe of Afghans, and of the venerated family of the Sudoozies, whose persons were held inviolate. He was rescued from the Ghiljies, when Nadir Shah appeared before Candahar, and at the early age of twenty-three, attracted the notice of that conqueror. He was present with him at the sack of Delhi, the horrors of which he was one day destined to renew. In June, 1747, the atrocities of Nadir Shah, which are without a parallel on the page of history, constrained his subjects to rid the world of him. Ahmed Khan immediately after rose to distinction, and extended his influence over the tribes around him, and so great was his success, that he was crowned at Candahar before the close of the year. From some motive of superstition, he was led to change the name of his tribe to that of Dooranee; but he will continue to be designated in this work, by his original title of Abdalee.

His coronation was scarcely completed before he turned his attention to India, as the region in which his soldiers would most amply find both employment and plunder. Having crossed the Indus with a force estimated at 15,000 men, he overran the Punjab, and pushed on to Sirhind. An army was despatched against him from Delhi without delay, under Ahmed Shah, the eldest son of the emperor, who successfully resisted all the assaults of the Abdalees for ten days, and on the eleventh, completely discomfited them, and constrained them to retreat towards their own country. The battle of Sirhind was the last expiring effort of the dynasty of the Moguls, and the last event in the life of Mahomed Shah, who died a month after, in April, 1748, after an inglorious reign of twenty-eight years.

Ahmed Shah, Emperor, 1748. The Rohillas.

His son, Ahmed Shah, was in pursuit of the Abdalees when he heard of the event, and returned to Delhi to ascend the throne. Sufder Jung, the viceroy of Oude, was appointed vizier, and devoted his first attention to the subjugation of the Rohillas, who had been expelled from the provinces to which they had given their name, but had taken advantage of the invasion of the Abdalees, to re-establish themselves in it. He marched against them with a numerous but ill-disciplined army, and was defeated by a far inferior force. The Rohillas pursued him into his own provinces, aud though beaten off from Lucknow, penetrated to Allahabad, and set the Emperor and the vizier alike at defiance. In this emergency the vizier called up the Mahratta chieftains, Mulhar Rao Holkar and Jyapa Sindia, as well as the Jaut chief, Sooruj mull, and with their aid, completely defeated the Rohillas, and obliged them to seek refuge in the hills. The Mahrattas were allowed to repay themselves by the unrestricted plunder of the province, which did not recover from the effect of these ravages for many years. Before his retirement, Holkar, true to his Mahratta instincts, exacted a bond of fifty lacs of rupees from the despoiled Rohillas.

The Abdalee availed himself of these commotions to invade India a second time, and having overrun Lahore and Mooltan, sent an envoy to Delhi to demand the cession of those provinces. The vizier was absent in pursuit of the Rohillas; the emperor was under the influence of a favourite eunuch, and the whole country was under the dominion of terror. The provinces were formally surrendered to the invader. The vizier arrived at the capital too late to prevent this dastardly submission, but he manifested his disapproval of it, by inviting the favourite to an entertainment, and causing him to be assassinated. The incensed emperor soon found a fit instrument to avenge the insult, in the person of a youth destined to play an important part in the closing scenes of the Mogul empire. This was the grandson of the first Nizam, and the son of Ghazee-ood-deen, who was poisoned by his stepmother. The youth, whose original name was Shaha-boo-deen, but who is more generally known by his title of Ghazee-ood-deen, was courageous and resolute, but at the same time, one of the most accomplished villains of the age. He had been raised to the post of commander of the forces, through the favour of the vizier, but did not hesitate to turn against him at the bidding of the emperor. A civil war was carried on between the parties for six months in the city of Delhi, the streets of which were deluged with blood. Ghazee-ood-deen at length called Holkar's mercenaries to his aid, and the vizier finding himself no longer equal to the contest, consented to an accommodation, and retired to his own government of Oude. That province may be considered as finally alienated from the crown of Delhi in the present year, 1753. But the emperor was unable long to support the insolence of his overbearing minister, and marched out of the capital to oppose him, but was defeated and captured by Holkar. The infamous Ghazee-ood-deen repaired forthwith to the Mahratta camp, deposed the unfortunate captive, and put out his eyes, proclaiming one of the princes of the blood emperor, under the title of Alumgeer.

Second invasion of Ahmed Shah, 1751.

Independence of Oude, 1753.

Ghazee-ood-deen deposes and blinds the emperor, 1754.

Third Abdalee invasion, 1756.

During these events, the vizier, Sufder Jung, died, and Ghazee-ood-deen invested himself with the office. His insufferable tyranny soon after drove his soldiers to revolt, and he was dragged by them through the streets, without his turban or slippers. He was eventually rescued from their hands by his own officers, and glutted his revenge by slaughtering the whole body of the insurgents. In an evil hour his ambition led him to invade the Punjab, and to expel the officers whom Ahmed Shah had left to govern it. That prince immediately crossed the Indus, and advanced to avenge the insult. Ghazee-ood-deen, unable to cope with such an adversary, repaired to his camp, and made the most humiliating submission. But though he obtained forgiveness, the Abdalee was resolved to obtain a pecuniary compensation on this his third irruption. He accordingly marched on to Delhi and gave it up to plunder for many days. All the atrocities of Nadir Shah's invasion were repeated, and the wretched inhabitants were subjected a second time, in less than ten years, to the outrages of a brutal soldiery. Ghazee-ood-deen was sent to plunder the province of Oude, and Ahmed Shah himself undertook to pillage the territories of the Jauts. In this expedition he inflicted an indelible stain on his character, by the indiscriminate slaughter of thousands of unoffending devotees who were assembled during a religious festival at the shrines of Muttra. Agra was saved from destruction only by a great mortality which broke out in the Abdalee army, and constrained Ahmed Shah to hasten his retreat across the Indus. The wretched emperor entreated that he might not be abandoned to the tender mercies of his ruthless vizier, Ghazee-ood-deen, and Nujeeb-ood-dowlah, an able and energetic Rohilla chief, was installed as commander-in-chief.

The pirates on the Malabar coast.

The attention of the reader is now transferred to the Malabar coast, which had for centuries been denominated, and not without reason, the pirate coast of India. The western shore of the Peninsula is as thickly studded with harbours as the eastern coast, from the

mouths of the Hooghly to Ceylon, is destitute of them. For fifty years the piratical princes on the coast had been increasing in power and audacity. Among the most formidable was Conajee Angria, who had raised himself from the condition of a common sailor to the command of the Mahratta fleet, and then declared his independence and set up a terrific piratical power, boasting that he was as great a freebooter at sea as the Peshwa was by land. He established fortifications in every creek, bay, and harbour, for a hundred and twenty miles on the Concan coast, but his most important arsenal was in the noble port of Gheriah, about a hundred and seventy miles south of Bombay. In 1752, an expedition, consisting of three British ships of the line and a Portuguese squadron attacked Colaba, another of his ports, but without success. In 1754, his corsairs overpowered three Dutch vessels, respectively of 50, 36, and 18 guns, the two largest of which were burnt, and the third captured. The following year the Peshwa and the Bombay government sent a joint expedition against Angria, and Commodore James attacked and carried the strong fortress of Severndroog, without the loss of a single man. The fort was made over to the Mahrattas, though their pigmy fleet of grabs had never come within gunshot of the place.

Clive arrives at Bombay, 1755.

The Court of Directors viewed the progress of Bussy in the Deccan with great alarm, and resolved to form an alliance with the Peshwa with the view of arresting it, and to send a powerful force to Bombay to cooperate in this design. Clive, on his return to England from Madras, had been received with great distinction by the Company and by the Ministers, and to him the Court of Directors committed the command of the troops destined to act against Bussy. On his arrival at Bombay, however, in October, 1755, he found the government of the Presidency firmly and conscientiously opposed to the enterprize. They considered themselves precluded from entering upon it by the Convention made in the preceding year between M. Godcheu

and Mr. Saunders, of which their masters in England were ignorant when this design was formed. Admiral Watson happening to arrive with the fleet from Madras about the same time, it was resolved to take advantage of the presence of this large armament to root out the piratical power on that coast, which it was costing the Company five lacs of rupees a year to oppose. An arrangement was accordingly made with the Peshwa for a joint expedition against Gheriah. The Mahrattas marched down by land, and Colonel Clive and Admiral Watson proceeded by sea, with 14 vessels and 800 Europeans and 1,000 sepoys. The fire from the ships set the pirate fleet in a blaze within an hour. The next morning Clive attacked the fort by land, while the Admiral kept up so vigorous a cannonade from the sea that the defenders were obliged to capitulate in half an hour. In the arsenal were found 200 pieces of cannon, together with large quantities of ammunition and two large vessels on the stocks, as well as twelve lacs of rupees. The money was immediately distributed among the captors, without any reservation for the Mahrattas, or the Company, and the port and arsenal were, eventually, made over to the Peshwa. Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive soon after sailed for Madras, and, on the 20th of June, the latter took charge of the government of St. David, to which he had been appointed in England.

Seraja dowlah viceroy of Bengal, 1756.

The brave old Tartar viceroy of Bengal, Ali verdy, expired at Moorshedabad at the age of eighty, on the 9th of April, 1756, bequeathing the government to Seraja Dowlah, a grandson on whom he had long doated. The youth, though only twenty years of age, was already cruel and profligate beyond the usual run of purple-born princes in India. The little understanding with which nature had endowed him was obscured by intemperance; he was the slave of parasites and buffoons; he had carried pollution into the families of the nobility, and had become the object of general abhorrence before he ascended the throne. His young cousin, Sokut Jung, with a character not less

abandoned than his own, had recently succeeded to the government of the district of Purnea, and sent large sums to the court of Delhi to obtain his own nomination to the viceroyalty of the three provinces. Seraja Dowlah resolved to lose no time in extirpating him, and marched with a large force to Purneah; but on reaching Rajmahal he received a a letter from Mr. Drake, the governor of Calcutta which gave another direction to his purpose.

Disputes with the governor of Calcutta, 1756.

Raja raj bullub, one of the Hindoo officers whom it was the policy of Ali verdy to place in public employments, had amassed great wealth in the service, and shortly before the death of the old viceroy had been nominated governor of Dacca. His predecessor in that office had been assassinated and plundered by order of Seraja dowlah, and he was anxious to place his family and treasures beyond the reach of the tyrant; he, therefore, obtained a letter of recommendation from Mr. Watts, the Company's chief at Cossimbazar—the factory adjoining Moorshedabad—to the governor of Calcutta; and his son, Kissen-dass, embarked at Dacca with a large retinue, under the pretence of going on a pilgrimage to Jugunnuth, and landed at Calcutta, where he received a cordial welcome. Seraja Dowlah, a day or two after the death of his grandfather, for which he had been waiting, despatched a letter to Mr. Drake, the governor, demanding the immediate surrender of Kissen-dass and his wealth. The messenger, though the brother of the raja of Midnapore, the head of the spy department, came in a small boat, and was expelled from the settlement as an impostor. A second communication was soon after sent to Mr. Drake, ordering him peremptorily to demolish all the fortifications which the Nabob understood he had been erecting. The governor replied that the Nabob had been misinformed, that no new defences had been attempted, and that nothing in fact had been done but to repair the ramparts facing the river, in the prospect of another war with France. The Nabob was not in a humour to brook the slightest resistance of his will; his

indignation was kindled to a degree which astonished even those who had been accustomed to the violence of his passions, and he ordered the army to march down instantly to Calcutta.

State of Fort William, 1756.

Calcutta was ill-prepared for such an assault. During fifty years of peace, the fortifications had been neglected, and warehouses built up to the ramparts. The defenceless state of the fort at this juncture was owing to the neglect of the Council, not to the inattention of the Court of Directors. After the capture of Madras by Labourdonnais in 1747, they were naturally anxious to protect their settlement in Bengal from a similar fate, and sent orders to strengthen the defences, however the viceroy might oppose them. Year after year were these injunctions repeated, and on one occasion no fewer than 250 recruits were sent out, and the artillery establishment augmented to 114 gunners and four officers. Colonel Scott arrived at Calcutta in 1754 as commandant, with the most stringent orders to complete the fortifications, and, if necessary, to conciliate the Nabob by an offering of a lac of rupees. At the same time the Court directed that none but Europeans should be received into their military service, but Colonel Scott represented that there was "a set of men called Rashpoots, natives, on the banks of the Ganges near Patna, gentoos of the fighting caste, and he was of opinion that when disciplined they would make excellent soldiers." The Court thereupon permitted the garrison to be recruited with Rajpoots, and the nucleus was thus formed of that army of which a hundred thousand endeavoured a century afterwards to subvert the British Empire. In 1755 the Court stated in their despatch that the death of the Nabob might be daily expected; that it would be attended with great confusion and trouble; that they trusted their officers had put Calcutta in a state of defence; and that they were to be on their guard to protect the possessions, effects, and privileges of the Company. But these warnings were lost on the authorities in Calcutta, who were heedful only of their own pelf, and whose infatua-

tion up the latest moment, was exceeded only by their cowardice when the danger came. Colonel Scott died in 1755, and all the works in progress for the defence of the settlement were immediately suspended; the militia was not embodied till it was too late; the gunpowder, made by a fraudulent contractor, whom no one looked after, was deficient both in quantity and quality, and there were only 174 men in garrison, not ten of whom had ever seen a shot fired.

Siege of Calcutta, June, 1756.

The army of the Nabob, 50,000 strong, approached the town on the 17th June. Under every disadvantage, Clive would have made as noble a defence of Calcutta as he had made of Arcot, but the governor was Drake, and the commandant, Minchin. Instead of clearing the space round the fort of houses and encumbrances, batteries were injudiciously planted at a great distance from it, which the enemy captured on the first day, and were thus enabled to bring a galling fire to bear directly on the fort itself. At two in the morning of the 19th a council of war was held, when it was resolved to send the women and children on board the vessels lying off the town. But as soon as the water gate was open there was a general rush to the boats, many of which were capsized, and the rest pushed off without order or discipline. After the fugitives had reached the ships, a shower of "fire-arrows," by no means dangerous, was discharged on them, and the captains immediately weighed anchor, and dropped down two miles out of their reach. At ten in the morning only two boats remained at the wharf, into one of which, the governor, Mr. Drake, quietly slipped, without leaving any instructions for the conduct of the garrison. The military commander, Minchin, followed his example, and they rowed down to the ships in all haste.

Surrender of Calcutta.

As soon as this base desertion was known, nothing was heard on all sides but imprecations. When calmness had been in some measure restored, Mr. Holwell was, by common consent, placed in command, and it was resolved to defend the fort to the last extremity. It held out

for forty-eight hours, during which signals of distress were made, day and night, to the vessels anchored below the town. They might have come up with perfect safety, and rescued the gallant garrison with ease; but to crown this scene of infamy, not a vessel was moved to its assistance. On the 21st, the enemy renewed the assault with increased vigour, and more than half the remaining force was killed or wounded. The European soldiers broke into the liquor stores and became unfit for duty. A flag of truce was deceitfully sent by the Nabob, and Mr. Holwell, seeing the utter helplessness of the garrison, agreed to a parley, during which the enemy treacherously rushed into the fort, and the officers were obliged to surrender their swords. The Nabob entered the fort about five in the afternoon, and ordered Kissen-dass, the cause of these calamities, to be brought before him, but received and dismissed him with courtesy. Mr. Holwell was then ushered into his presence, and he expressed his resentment that the sum in the treasury was found not to exceed five lacs of rupees, but gave him every assurance of protection, and retired about dusk to his encampment.

The Black Hole, 1756. The European prisoners were collected together under an arched verandah, while the native officers went in search of some building in which they might be lodged for the night. They returned about eight in the evening and reported that none could be found. The principal officer then desired the prisoners to move into one of the chambers behind the verandah, which had been used as the prison of the garrison. Orme calls it a dungeon; but the room immediately adjoining it was used as the settlement church for twenty-eight years after the recovery of the town. It was not twenty feet square, and however suited for the confinement of a few turbulent soldiers, was death to the hundred and forty-six persons, now thrust into it at the sword's point, in one of the hottest nights of the most sultry season of the year. The wretched prisoners soon became frantic with suffocating heat and insufferable thirst. The

struggle to reach the window and catch a breath of air proved fatal to many. At length they began to sink one by one into the arms of death; and the few who survived that awful night owed their lives to the more free ventilation obtained by standing on the bodies of their deceased companions. When the door was opened in the morning, only twenty-three came out alive—the most ghastly forms ever seen. This is the tragedy of the Black Hole, which has rendered the name of Seraja Dowlah the type of infamy among all the nations of Christendom. Yet so little did it appear to be out of the ordinary course of events in the East, that it was scarcely marked by the native community, and was not considered of sufficient importance to demand even a passing notice from the Mahomedan historian of the time. The next morning the Nabob came down to the fort, and inquired whether the English chief still lived; and when Mr. Holwell was borne into his presence, he manifested no compassion for his sufferings, nor the least remorse for the fate of the other prisoners, but reproached him anew with the concealment of the public treasure, and ordered him to be placed in confinement. The Nabob returned to Moorshedabad, after having extorted large sums from the French and the Dutch, and confiscated all the property of the English throughout the country; and thus was the East India Company expelled a second time from Bengal, as completely as they had been seventy years before, in the days of Aurungzebe.

Expedition to recover Calcutta, 1756.

Information of this catastrophe was seven weeks in reaching Madras, where the military force consisted of 2,000 Europeans and 10,000 sepoys. But, while the national honour required immediate vindication in Bengal, there was a strong party in the council desirous of employing the resources of the Presidency in assisting Salabut Jung to expel Bussy from the Deccan, although the Convention which they themselves had entered into with M. Godeheu was still fresh and binding. Much time was wasted in discussing whether the expedition should be sent

to Hyderabad or Calcutta. When the council at length came to the resolution to retrieve the affairs of the Company in Bengal, in the first instance, further time was lost in disembarking the royal artillery and stores, which Col. Adlecron would not allow to proceed when he found that the command of the expedition was not to be given to him. Happily it was entrusted to the genius of Clive, who was instructed, after the recapture of Calcutta, to march up to Moorshedabad, if the Nabob continued refractory, and to attack Chandernagore, if the declaration of war with France, then hourly expected, should arrive before the time fixed for the return of the troops. Admiral Watson and Col. Clive sailed from Madras on the 10th of October with five ships of war, and five of the Company's vessels, on which 900 Europeans and 1,500 sepoys were embarked.

Recapture of Calcutta, 1757.

On the 15th of December the expedition reached Fulta, about forty miles below Calcutta, where Mr. Drake and the other fugitives were lying in the vessels on which they had taken refuge. A Mogul fortification on the river at Budge-budge was soon after attacked. Manickchand, the Nabob's Hindoo general, who had been left in charge of Calcutta, had arrived there two days before with a large reinforcement of horse and foot; but a shot happening to pass too near his turban, he gave the signal of retreat, and the whole body of his troops marched back in disorder to Calcutta. Not considering himself safe even there, he left 500 men to defend the fort, and fled with the remainder to Moorshedabad. Colonel Clive entered the dismantled town on the 2nd of January, and the fort surrendered at discretion. To impress the Nabob with a conviction of the power and resolution of the English who had come to avenge their wrongs, an expedition was sent about a week after to the important post of Hooghly, which submitted without resistance.

Defeat of the Nabob, 1757.

The Nabob had persuaded himself that the English would never again venture to set foot in

his dominions, and the news of these transactions filled him with indignation, and he lost no time in marching down to Calcutta with an army of 40,000 men. Clive was anxious for an accommodation, and offered him the most moderate and reasonable terms. But while the negotiations were in progress, the army of the Nabob was in full march towards the town, burning down the villages as it advanced. Two envoys whom Clive had sent on the 4th of February to request the Nabob to withdraw his army, if his intentions were pacific, were treated with contumely. Finding a contest inevitable, Clive determined to take the initiative; and, on the morning of the 5th, marched with his whole force, augmented by 600 marines, to the assault of the enemy's entrenchment, which lay to the north-east of the town. But a little before sunrise he was confounded by one of those dense fogs which are common at that season of the year, and although his troops fought with the greatest gallantry, they became bewildered and disheartened, and he withdrew his force with the loss of more than 200 soldiers. But the Nabob was still more disheartened. He had lost twenty-two officers of distinction; he had never been so much involved in the perils of a battle before, and, passing at once from the extreme of arrogance to the extreme of pusillanimity, hastened to make overtures of peace: and on the 9th of February a treaty was concluded by which all their former privileges were restored to the English, and permission was given to fortify Calcutta and to establish a mint, and a promise of compensation for their losses was held out.

Capture of Chandernagore, 1757.

Clive was directed, and had engaged, to return with the troops to Madras after the recovery of Calcutta, and he has been censured for disregarding his promise; but in his determination to remain in Bengal he exercised a wise discretion. Information had been received, through Aleppo, of a declaration of war between France and England on the 9th of May in the preceding year. Chandernagore was garrisoned with 700 Europeans. Bussy, with a

victorious army, was encamped in the Northern Sircars the 300 miles from Calcutta, and the Nabob, immediately on h, in ing the treaty, had importuned him to march up and exut Clive from Bengal. The junction of the two French armie with that of the Nabob would have endangered the position of the English, more especially as, on Clive's departure for the coast, the management of affairs would have devolved on the wretched Drake, who still held his commission as governor. Calcutta would probably have been lost a second time. Clive justly concluded that it was his duty to remain and dislodge the French from Chandernagore. The Nabob was extremely averse to this proceeding, but Admiral Watson terrified him into a vague and reluctant consent, by threatening to "kindle such a flame in his country, as all the waters in the Ganges would be unable to extinguish." The Admiral proceeded up the river, with his ships of the line, while Clive attacked the town by land; and Chandernagore surrendered, chiefly through the exertions of the fleet, after a noble defence of nine days. As Clive was preparing for the attack he uttered these memorable words, "If we take Chandernagore, we cannot stop there;" and a century of progress has verified his prediction.

Confederacy against the Nabob, 1757.

The capture of Chandernagore still farther incensed the Nabob, and he encamped his army at Plassy, forty miles south of Moorshedabad, and Clive kept the field in the neighbourhood of Hooghly, instead of withdrawing his army to Calcutta. Meanwhile, the violence and atrocities of the Nabob continued to augment the disgust of his ministers and officers, none of whom considered themselves secure from the caprices of his passion. Every day produced some new act of provocation; and in the month of May, Meer Jaffier, the paymaster and general of his forces, Roy-doorlub, his finance minister, and the all-powerful bankers, the Setts, entered into a combination to dethrone him. They were constrained to admit into their councils one, Omichund, the Shylock of this drama, who had settled in Calcutta forty years before, and accumulated great wealth by his contracts

with the Company,—in which, however, they always complained of having been overreached,—and by his extensive commercial dealings throughout the country. He maintained the establishment of a prince in Calcutta, and rendered himself important at the Court of Moorshedabad. He accompanied Seraja Dowlah on his return to the capital, and became a great favourite with that weak prince. He daily attended the durbar, thrust himself into every affair, and acquired such influence in the public councils that the confederates were constrained to take him into their confidence, as the least of two evils.

Clive joins the Confederacy.

As the plans of the party proceeded, Jugut Sett, the banker, assured his friends that there was little, if any, chance of success without the co-operation of Clive, and they invited him to join them, holding out the most magnificent offers for the Company. Clive felt "that there could be neither peace nor security while such a monster as the Nabob reigned," and readily entered into their plans, notwithstanding the reluctance of the timid Council in Calcutta. A secret treaty was concluded between the confederates and Clive, the chief stipulations of which were that he should march with his army to Moorshedabad and place Meer Jaffier on the throne, and that Meer Jaffier should make the amplest reparation to the English for all losses, public and private. The whole scheme, however, had well nigh miscarried, through the rapacity of Omichund, who came forward in the last stage, and demanded, by the threat of disclosure—which would have been certain death to all the confederates—the insertion of a specific article in the treaty, guaranteeing to him thirty lacs of rupees, and a commission of five per cent. on all payments. Clive, on hearing of this outrageous demand, came to the conclusion "that art and policy were warrantable to defeat the designs of such a villain;" and he formed the plan of deceiving the man by a fictitious treaty, written on red paper, which provided for his demand, while the real treaty, authenticated by the seals and signatures of the con-

tracting parties, contained no such stipulation. This is the only act in the bold and arduous career of Clive, which, in the opinion of posterity, does not admit of vindication. But it is due to his memory to state that, to the end of his life, he conscientiously asserted the integrity of his motives and of his conduct on this occasion, and declared that he "would do it a hundred times over." When the treaty was complete, Meer Jaffier took an oath on the Koran to be faithful to his engagements, and to withdraw with his troops from the army of the Nabob, either before or on the day of the battle.

Battle of Plassy, 1757.

Clive, having concluded his arrangements, addressed a letter to the Nabob, recapitulating the grievances of which the English had to complain, and stating that he was coming to Moorshedabad to submit them to the judgment of the durbar. He marched from Chandernagore, on the 13th June, with 1,000 Europeans, 2,000 natives, and eight pieces of cannon. On the 17th he reached Cutwa, and captured the fort, but looked in vain for Meer Jaffier, who had, in the meantime, taken another oath of fidelity to his master. On the 19th the rains set in with extreme violence, and Clive paused on the threshold of the campaign, doubting the propriety of opening it at the beginning of the rainy season, and on "their own bottom, without any assistance." But on second thoughts he felt he had advanced too far to recede, and that there would be more peril in returning than in advancing. The whole army crossed the river on the 22nd, and encamped for the night in the grove of Plassy, in the immediate neighbourhood of which the Nabob was posted with an army of 15,000 horse and 35,000 foot, in an entrenched camp. The next morning, the memorable 23rd of June, 1757, the Nabob's troops moved out and assaulted the English force which was sheltered by a high bank, but with little effect. About noon the enemy withdrew their artillery, and Clive advanced vigorously to the attack of their lines. Meer Mudun, the general-in-chief, was mortally wounded, and expired in the presence of the Nabob, who was unable

any longer to control his terror, but mounted a camel and fled at the top of its speed, accompanied by about 2,000 horse. His whole army immediately dispersed, and this battle, so momentous in its eventual result on the destiny of India, was gained with the loss of only 72 killed and wounded on the part of the English, while, even on the side of the enemy, the casualties did not exceed 500. As soon as victory appeared to declare in favour of the English, Meer Jaffier moved off with his troops and joined their standard. Seraja Dowlah, on his arrival at the capital, found himself deserted by his court, and, after passing a day in gloomy reflections, disguised himself in a mean dress and escaped out of a window in the palace at ten at night, with a favourite concubine and a eunuch, and embarked in a little boat which had been secured for him.

Elevation of Meer Jaffier, 1757.

Clive entered Moorshedabad on the 29th of June, and proceeding to the palace, where all the great officers were assembled, conducted Meer Jaffier to the throne, and saluted him Soobadar of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The change in the position and propects of the English was so rapid and stupendous as almost to exceed belief. In June, 1756, Calcutta had been plundered and burnt, its European inhabitants murdered, and the Company exterminated from Bengal. In June, 1757, they had recovered their capital, extinguished their European rivals, defeated and dethroned the Nabob, and disposed of the government of the three provinces, with a population of twenty-five millions, to their own partizan. In accordance with the terms of the treaty, the sum of two crores and twenty lacs of rupees was gradually paid out of the treasury at Moorshedabad, to make good the losses of the Company and of individuals. The first instalment of eighty lacs was conveyed to Calcutta in a triumphant procession with bands playing and banners floating —a bright contrast to the spectacle of the previous year when Seraja Dowlah marched back to his capital with the plunder of Calcutta. While Clive was thus giving away a

kingdom larger and more populous than England, he reserved for his own masters only the fee simple of the land six hundred yards around the Mahratta ditch, and the zemindary rights of the country lying to the south of Calcutta. Nor was his moderation as a private individual less conspicuous than as the representative of a victorious nation. While the opulent nobles of the court were anxious to conciliate his favour by pouring uncounted wealth into his lap, he refused every gift except that which the gratitude of Meer Jaffier pressed on him, not exceeding sixteen lacs of rupees. When, in aftertimes, his great services had been forgotten and he was upbraided with rapacity, he indignantly replied, "When I recollect entering the treasury at Moorshedabad, with heaps of silver and gold to the right hand and to the left, and these crowned with jewels, I stand astonished at my own moderation."

Fate of Seraja Dowlah, 1757.

Seraja Dowlah proceeded up the river in his boat in the hope of overtaking Mr. Law, the French officer, whom he had been constrained to dismiss at the mandate of Clive. Had Law, who had a large body of officers, and about 200 soldiers with him, succeeded in joining the Nabob, the history of Bengal, and perhaps of India, might have borne a different stamp. But Law, who had retraced his steps on hearing of the advance of Clive to Moorshedabad, retired with rapidity to Oude, after receiving news of the battle of Plassy. The fugitive prince landed at Rajmahal to prepare a meal, and unfortunately proceeded to the hut of a fakeer, whose ears he had ordered to be cut off in the previous year. The man immediately gave information of his arrival to those who were in pursuit of him, and he was conveyed back as a prisoner to Moorshedabad, eight days after he had quitted it. On the night of his arrival, Meerun, the son of Meer Jaffier, a youth as heartless and abandoned as Seraja Dowlah himself, caused him to be put out of the way by assassination. The next day his mangled remains

were paraded on an elephant through the streets, and then buried in the tomb of his grandfather.

The Court of Directors on Plassy, 1757.

Intelligence of the destruction of Calcutta did not reach England for eleven months. On the 3rd of August, 1757, the Court of Directors wrote to the President in Calcutta: "On the 4th of June, we heard of the melancholy news of the loss of Fort William and the rest of our settlements in Bengal. On the 22nd day of July, Mr. Holwell arrived on the Siren, and gave a most agreeable turn to our thoughts by bringing advice of the recapture of Fort William." A few months after, they heard of the battle of Plassy, and the great revolution which had been effected by their troops. That victory more than realised the expectations which the Court had entertained seventy years ago, when they sent out Admiral Nicholson to make them "a nation in India." It had laid the foundation of a great empire. Yet so little conception had the Court of the high destiny which was opening before them that their chief source of gratification was derived from the hope that their servants in Bengal would now be able to provide the investment for two years without drawing on them.

Clive quells three revolts, 1757.

The first object of Meer Jaffier, after his elevation, was to plunder the Hindoo minister of finance, Roy-doorlub, and the officers who had amassed wealth in the governments conferred on them by Ali verdy. These proceedings provoked no fewer than three revolts within three months, in Behar, Purneah, and Midnapore.[*] But they were quelled without bloodshed, by the mere exercise of Clive's influence, to whom the whole country looked up as to a demigod. The ascendancy which he thus acquired, though inseparable from his position and his genius, could not fail to lessen the importance of the Nabob, and to irritate his mind, while it gave umbrage to his family and his officers. They could not forget that it was only two years since the foreigners, who now bore the supremacy in Bengal,

had approached them as suppliants, with gifts and flatteries; and it required the most delicate management on the part of Clive to prevent the explosion of their discontent. A few months after the battle of Plassy, a Mahratta envoy arrived at Moorshedabad to demand the arrears of *chout* now due for two years, but he soon found that the days of *chout* had ceased with the advent of the English.

Expedition to the coast September, 1758.

The Court of Directors, on hearing of the great victory of Plassy, placed the government of Calcutta in the hands of Clive, and he was anxious to afford substantial relief to Madras, now menaced by Lally; but the presence of a formidable French force on the confines of Orissa, and of Law with 200 Europeans on the borders of Behar, combined with the growing alienation of the Nabob, made it impolitic to weaken Bengal. The number of European troops at Madras was, moreover, twice as large as the number at the disposal of Clive, and, above all, that settlement had Lawrence for its military commander, which Clive considered an ample guarantee of its safety. He, therefore, supplied it most liberally with funds from his own full treasury, and took steps to remove one cause of disquietude by an attack on the French possessions in the Northern Sircars, now no longer protected by the genius of Bussy. He entrusted the expedition to Colonel Forde, one of the great soldiers created by the long-continued wars on the Coast. Clive had begun to enlist the Rajpoots, and was enabled to send 2,000 sepoys with Forde, in addition to 500 Europeans and 14 guns. That officer landed at Vizagapatam, and, after defeating Bussy's feeble successor, the Marquis of Conflans, formed the bold design of laying siege to Masulipatam, the great stronghold of the French on the coast, though it was garrisoned by a larger force than that of the besiegers. Conflans solicited the immediate aid of the Nizam, Salabut Jung, who marched down to the coast with a large army in support of his friends. Forde, however, pushed the siege with such skill and energy as to oblige the French general to capitulate before the

arrival of the auxiliary force. The Nizam was thunderstruck at this early and unexpected surrender, and lost no time in changing sides, and courting the victor. A treaty was speedily concluded, by which Salabut Jung ceded Masulipatam and eight districts around it to the English, and engaged to exclude the French from his dominions. This brilliant exploit raised the reputation of the English as high in the Deccan as it stood in Bengal, and entirely deprived the French of the resources of the Northern Sircars.

Ali Gohur invades Behar, 1759.

While the troops were thus employed on the coast their presence was urgently required in Bengal. The emperor at Delhi was a mere puppet in the hands of his unprincipled vizier, from whose thraldrom the heir apparent, Mahomed Ali Gohur, had contrived to make his escape, not without his father's connivance. India, at this time, abounded with military adventurers ready for any service, and the name of the emperor was sufficient to attract crowds to the standard of his son. The Soobadar of Oude was likewise anxious to turn the unsettled state of Bengal to his own profit, and joined the camp of the prince with a large force, and induced him, in the first instance, to invade the province of Behar. An army of 40,000 men now suddenly appeared before Patna, the provincial capital, which Ramnarayun, the Hindoo governor, defended with great valour for twelve days. Meer Jaffier was thrown into a fever of anxiety by this invasion, and importuned Clive to hasten to the rescue. On his march towards Patna, Clive received repeated letters from Ali Gohur, offering him province after province for his assistance, but he handed them to the Nabob, who had likewise received letters from the emperor, written under the dictation of the vizier, and commanding him to seize his rebellious son, and chastise his adherents. Clive's advanced guard appeared in sight of the city on the 4th of April, and the Prince instantly raised the siege and endeavoured to escape from the province faster than he had entered it. As a matter of course, the Nabob of Oude deserted him on the first

appearance of adversity, and he was reduced to such straits during his flight as to throw himself on the compassion of Clive, who sent him 500 gold mohurs to relieve his necessities.

Conflict with the Dutch, 1759

Scarcely had this cloud blown over than another gathered on the horizon. The Nabob, fretting under the supremacy of Clive and the restraints it imposed on him, cast about for some means of counterbalancing it, and hit on the device of inviting the Dutch to introduce a large European force into their settlement at Chinsurah. The Dutch government at Batavia appear to have viewed the prosperity of the English in India with no small feeling of envy, and eagerly embraced the proposition, hoping to fish up some prize in the troubled waters of Bengal. They accordingly dispatched a fleet of seven vessels to the Hooghly, with 700 Europeans and 800 well-trained Malay sepoys. Clive would tolerate no European rival in Bengal; and, on hearing of the arrival of the expedition, blocked up the river and took measures to prevent the junction of this force with that already cantoned at Chinsurah. The two nations were at peace in Europe; but, according to the established practice, this did not impede their waging war with each other in India. Even if Clive had felt any delicacy on the subject it was removed by the aggressive movement of the Dutch commander, who seized upon some of the British vessels, hauled down their colours, and transferred their guns and stores to his own ships. Clive retaliated by sequestering the vessels which had arrived from Batavia, and sending Colonel Forde, who had returned from the coast, with all the troops available to intercept the progress of the Batavian force. Forde, dreading the responsibility of attacking the troops of a friendly power, requested a written order from Clive. He was sitting at cards when the letter was put into his hands, and without rising, wrote on one of the cards with his pencil,—"Dear Forde, fight them immediately, I will send you the Order in Council to-morrow." That officer hesitated no longer, but advanced to meet the Dutch army, which he came up with

just as it arrived within sight of Chinsurah, and defeated in half an hour. Immediately after the action, the Nabob's son, Meerun, appeared with an army of 7,000 men, who were destined to turn on the English if the fortune of the day had been different. Clive restored the vessels he had taken to the Dutch authorities, on their engaging to make good all the expense incurred in defeating their plans, and embarked for England on the 25th of February, 1760.

Ahmed Shah and the Mahrattas. 1757—58.

We now resume the thread of Mahratta and Mogul affairs. Ahmed Shah Abdalee returned to Persia in June, 1757, leaving his son, Timur, in charge of the Punjab, and Nujeeb-ood-dowlah in command at Delhi, to protect the emperor from the designs of Ghazee-ood-deen. That profligate minister called the Mahrattas to his aid, and Raghoba, the fighting brother of the Peshwa, marched up to Delhi, and captured it after a month's siege. Nujeeb retreated to Rohilcund, and Ghazee-ood-deen was reinstated in the office of vizier. Soon after the capture of the capital by Raghoba, one Adina-beg, a veteran intriguer in the Punjab, invited him to seize on that province, as well as Mooltan, and annex them to the Mahratta dominions. He marched to Lahore in May, 1758; the Abdalees were totally routed; Prince Timur retreated to Persia; and the Mahratta standard was planted, for the first time, on the banks of the Indus. Raghoba then returned to the Deccan, but with more glory than money; and, instead of the loads of booty which usually marked the return of the Mahratta expeditions, brought back a load of obligations little short of a crore of rupees. This disappointment gave rise to a serious altercation with Sudaseeb Rao Bhao, the cousin and civil administrator of the Peshwa. "Then take charge of the next expedition yourself," was the tart reply of Raghoba. The Peshwa took him at his word, and compromised the differences between them by transferring the command of the army to Sudaseeb, generally known as the Bhao, and placing his brother at the head of the civil department.

Territory wrested from Salabut Jung, 1758.

The Peshwa had been, for some time, engaged in intrigues for the acquisition of Ahmednugur, the most important city south of the Nerbudda, and, at length, obtained possession of it by an act of base treachery. This aggression brought on hostilities with Salabut Jung and his brother, Nizam Ali, who had been recently reconciled to him. The master-spirit of Bussy no longer animated the councils or the army of the Nizam. Ibrahim Khan Gardee, one of the ablest native generals of the time, who was in command of the sepoy battalions trained by Bussy, and a powerful and well served artillery, had been dismissed from the service. He immediately transferred his sword to the Peshwa, and, in the conflict now raging, contributed, in no small degree, to reduce Salabut Jung and his brother to such straits, that they were constrained to submit to the most humiliating conditions as the price of safety. A treaty was wrung from them, which conceded to the Mahrattas five of the most important fortresses in the Deccan, and some of its most flourishing districts, yielding a revenue of not less than sixty lacs of rupees a year. The Mahrattas had now reached the zenith of their power. Their authority was equally acknowledged on the banks of the Cavery and the Indus. All the territory within these limits, which was not their own, paid them tribute. The vast resources of the Mahratta community were guided by one head and directed to one object—the aggrandisement of the nation, and they now talked proudly of establishing Hindoo sovereignty over the whole of Hindostan. The only hope of preserving the country from subjection to this power, of which tyranny, rapine, and destruction were the constant attendants, now rested on the arms of a foreign potentate—Ahmed Shah Abdalee.

Power of the Mahrattas, 1759.

Fourth invasion of Ahmed Shah, 1759.

Raghoba had left Mulhar Rao Holkar and Datajee Sindia to extort contributions from the Rajpoot princes, and to maintain the conquests he had made in the Punjab. At the instigation of Ghazee-ood-deen,

Sindia sent his officers to invade Rohilcund, and in the course of a month they laid waste thirteen hundred villages in that flourishing province. The ulterior object of the vizier and of the Mahrattas was the possession of Oude, and as the Nabob dreaded them more than he hated the Rohillas, he entered into a treaty with Hafiz Ruhmut, the bravest of their chiefs, and, in conjunction with Nujeeb-ood-dowlah drove Sindia across the Ganges with great slaughter. Just at this juncture both parties were astounded by the intelligence that Ahmed Shah was entering India with a grand army to recover and extend his conquests. The remembrance of the sack of Delhi by his troops gave a portentous character to this, his fourth invasion; and the Nabob and the Mahratta were induced, by a common alarm, to patch up an accommodation. The Abdalee crossed the Indus in September, 1759, and marched direct to Lahore. During his advance, the vizier, who had deprived his former master of sight, dreading the intercourse of the emperor with Ahmed Shah, on whom he felt that he had inflicted inexpiable injury, gave orders for his assassination, and placed some unknown youth on the throne, who was however never acknowledged.

Murder of the emperor, Alumgeer, Nov., 1759.

The two Mahratta chiefs, supported by their allies, the Jauts, advanced to encounter Ahmed Shah, but they were in two divisions, widely separated from each other, and he resolved to attack them before they could form a junction. The army of Sindia was surprised, and two-thirds of the troops, including the general, slaughtered. Holkar made all haste to retreat, and might have escaped, but he could not resist the temptation of turning out of his way to plunder a rich convoy, of which he had received intimation. Ahmed Shah overtook him by forced marches of extraordinary length, and routed him with great carnage. Of these reverses the Peshwa received information, immediately after he and his cousin had succeeded in wresting the forts and districts already mentioned from Salabut. The

Defeat of Sindia and Holkar; 1760.

Bhao, flushed with his recent success, entreated the Peshwa to allow him to proceed to Upper India, and restore the reputation of the Mahratta arms, and expel the Abdalees from the country. In an evil hour permission was granted, for though personally brave and resolute, he was rash and arrogant, and filled with an overweening conceit of his own abilities, which were unequal to the great expedition on which the fortunes of the Mahratta nation were about to be staked.

The Mahratta army.

The army which now proceeded against Ahmed Shah was the largest and best equipped with which the Mahrattas had ever taken the field. It resembled rather the gorgeous array with which Aurungzebe had crossed the Nerbudda eighty years before than that of the humble and hardy mountaineers who had baffled him. The spacious and lofty tents of the chiefs were lined with silk and brocades, and surmounted with gilded ornaments. The finest horses, richly caparisoned, together with a long train of elephants, accompanied the army. The wealth which half a century of plunder had accumulated was exhibited in all its splendour. The officers, dressed in cloth of gold, vied with each other in profuse and prodigal display. The military chest was laden with two crores of rupees. Every commander throughout the Mahratta commonwealth was required to join the Bhao, and the whole of the Mahratta chivalry marched under the national standard. The Rajpoot chiefs contributed their cavalry brigades; the Pindarrees, who now appear for the first time in history, swarmed to the conflict, and Sooruj Mull, the Jaut chieftain, brought up a contingent of 30,000 men. The entire force did not fall short of 270,000. It was the grand struggle of Hindoo and Mahomedan for the sovereignty of India.

Arrogance of the Bhao.

The experienced old Jaut did not fail to perceive that the unwieldy masses of the Bhao, encumbered with artillery and other accessories unsuited to their national mode of warfare, were ill calculated for such a campaign. He strongly advised that the guns and the

infantry should be left in his forts, and that the army should revert to the old system of warfare, and harass the enemy with incessant attacks and cut off his supplies, till the hot season obliged the Abdalee to withdraw his troops to a more congenial climate beyond the Indus. But this sage advice, though supported by the ablest of the Mahratta generals, was rejected with scorn by the Bhao. The city of Delhi was occupied almost without a struggle, and he was with difficulty dissuaded from proclaiming Wiswas Rao, the eldest son of the Peshwa, Emperor of India. But, in a spirit of wanton barbarity, he destroyed the monuments of art which even Nadir Shah had spared. Disgusted with these acts, and not less with the overbearing conduct of the Bhao, the Rajpoots and the Jauts withdrew from his army.

Movements of the Mahrattas and Moguls, 1760.

Ahmed Shah was cordially supported by the Rohillas, and with less zeal by the Nabob of Oude. His regular army consisted of 38,000 foot and 41,800 horse, with seventy pieces of artillery. His irregular force was computed to be equally strong. After a variety of manœuvres the two armies confronted each other on the field of Paniput, where for the third time the fate of India was to be decided. The Bhao entrenched himself behind a ditch, forty feet wide and twelve feet deep. Ahmed Shah fortified his camp with felled trees. Numerous encounters took place from time to time between different detachments without any decisive result. The Rohillas and the Nabob of Oude were impatient to be led at once against the enemy, but the wary and experienced Abdalee prudently determined to wait the certain progress of famine in their encampment. The resources of the Mahrattas were gradually exhausted; their foraging parties were constantly driven back, and starvation stared them in the face, while the stench from the dead bodies of men and animals within the narrow limits of the camp became at length insupportable. Unable any longer to bear these privations and evils, men and officers equally demanded, in a voice of

thunder, to be led against the enemy instead of being cooped up to die like dogs. The Bhao was obliged to yield; with the provisions which were left they partook together of one full meal, and then prepared for the struggle of the morrow.

Battle of Paniput, January 7, 1761.

An hour before daybreak on the 7th of January, 1761, the Mahratta army issued from its entrenchments, not, as on many former occasions, in the full confidence of victory, but with the desperation of despair. The engagement was opened by Ibrahim Khan Gardee and his 10,000 sepoys, trained under Bussy, and his splendid artillery, with which he swept down the ranks of the Rohillas who were opposed to him. He then charged them with the bayonet, but they did not retire till 8,000 of their number lay dead or wounded on the field, while the loss of half the corps of Ibrahim shewed the desperate character of the conflict. The retirement of the Rohillas uncovered the right of the centre division of the Abdalees, and the Bhao and his cousin, with the flower of the Mahratta force, charged them with such vigour, that the day at one time seemed to belong to the Mahrattas, but at this critical juncture Ahmed Shah brought up his reserve, and the conflict became closer and more ferocious than ever. With the exception of Mulhar Rao Holkar, all the chiefs maintained their reputation, but about two hours after noon, Wiswas Rao, the son of the Peshwa, was mortally wounded, and the Bhao immediately mounted his horse, and disappeared in the confusion of the fight. Holkar likewise marched off, and was followed by the Guickwar. As soon as the leaders were no longer seen the army fell into disorder and fled. No quarter was given, and the carnage was prodigious. Men, women, and children crowded into the village of Paniput, where they were surrounded for the night, but the men were drawn out the next morning, and ranged in files, when, to the eternal disgrace of Ahmed Shah, his soldiers were encouraged to amuse themselves in cutting off their heads, and piling them up as trophies in front of their tents. The body of Wiswas

Rao was found, and the Abdalee was with reluctance prevailed on to allow it to be burnt, instead of having it dried and stuffed, to take back with him to Cabul. Junkajee Sindia and the illustrious Ibrahim Khan Gardee, were taken prisoners and put to death, the latter on the ground of having fought on the side of the Hindoos against the true believers. Only one-fourth of the troops escaped; and the entire loss of the Mahrattas, from the beginning of the campaign, was computed at 200,000. Never was defeat more complete or more fatal. There were few families which had not lost some relative, and grief and despondency overspread the community. The Peshwa died of grief, and with him perished the prestige of his family. The formidable unity of the Mahratta power was destroyed, and the hope which the Mahrattas had cherished of becoming masters of all India, was at once and for ever annihilated.

CHAPTER XI.

BENGAL, 1761—1772.

Condition of India after the battle of Paniput, 1761.

THE battle of Paniput forms an important epoch in the modern annals of India, and a brief notice of the position and strength of the various princes at that period will serve to elucidate its subsequent history. The great empire of the Moguls was dissolved, and the emperor was wandering about in Behar, accompanied by a small band of mercenaries. In the districts around Delhi, the Jauts on one side, and the Rohillas on the other, were consolidating the power they had usurped. The Rajpoot rajas had been humbled during the encroachments of the Mahrattas, and manifested little of their former energy. The Nabob vizier of Oude possessed a rich territory, and a large undisciplined army, but was deficient in every military

quality, except courage. The Mahratta dream of universal empire in India, under a Hindoo sceptre, had been dissipated by the recent defeat, and although the Peshwa was still the head of the federation, its power was henceforth partitioned among the Guickwar, the raja of Nagpore, and Holkar and Sindia, who were seldom at peace with each other. The Nizam at Hyderabad, had been crippled by the surrender of some of his most valuable districts to the Mahrattas. The power of the French was completely broken. In the south of the peninsula, the Nabob of the Carnatic had been seated on the throne by the English, and was maintained solely by their arms, and Hyder Ali was on the point of grasping the supreme control in Mysore. The power destined eventually to bring these various principalities "under one umbrella," had recently subdued its European rivals in the south, and established its predominance in the valley of the Ganges, but was contemplating nothing so little as the conquest of India.

Vansittart, Governor of Bengal, 1760-61.

Clive had become so completely identified with the existence of British power in Bengal, that his departure appeared to those who remained, as if the soul was departing from the government. He was succeeded in the chair by Mr. Vansittart, a Madras civilian, a man of the greatest probity, but utterly incompetent to manage the complicated machinery of the government. The appointment, though recommended by Clive, proved in every respect disastrous. The members of the Bengal Council were irritated by his intrusion into a seat which they considered to belong to them of right, and set themselves to thwart his measures, at a period when the exigencies of a novel and foreign administration required the greatest unanimity. Soon after Mr. Vansittart's appointment, moreover, an order from the Court of Directors reached Calcutta, summarily dismissing three of the ablest and most experienced members of Council, on account of a contumacious letter which had been provoked by their own arbitrary proceedings. The opponents of Mr. Vansittart thus obtained a majority in the Council, and

this circumstance, combined with his imbecility, rendered the four years of his administration a period of extraordinary criminality.

Invasion of Behar by the Shah zada, 1760:

The Shah Zada, the son of the emperor, invaded Behar a second time at the beginning of 1760, with the rabble of troops he had collected around him. As already stated, the intelligence of his father's death reached him after he had crossed the Curumnussa, and he immediately assumed the imperial dignity with the title of Shah Alum, which brought a large accession of troops to his standard. The Nabob of Oude was appointed vizier of this relic of an empire, and, in the hope of adding Behar to his territories, joined the emperor with a considerable force. Colonel Calliaud, one of the generals created by the wars on the coast, the comrade of Lawrence and Clive, of Coote and Forde, had been sent up from Madras to take the command of the army in Bengal, and had proceeded to Moorshedabad, where Clive, then on the eve of embarking for England, was making the necessary dispositions for repelling the invasion. Meer Jaffier contributed 15,000 horse to the expedition under the command of his son, Meerun, whose oppressions had made even Seraja Dowlah an object of regret. The united forces of the emperor and the vizier advanced towards Patna on one side, while Colonel Calliaud was moving up in an opposite direction to its succour. Ramnarayun, the Hindoo governor, had been strictly enjoined to await the arrival of these reinforcements, but he chose to march out and encounter the enemy alone, and was totally defeated. The city must have surrendered at discretion, if it had been immediately invested, but the emperor wasted the precious moments in plundering the district. On the 20th of February, Colonel Calliaud came up with the emperor, and, notwithstanding the misconduct of Meerun's horse, completely routed his army.

The Emperor marches to Moorshedabad, 1760.

The emperor had received the promise of assistance from the Mahrattas, and made a sudden and rapid march through the hills on Moorshedabad

to meet them. Calliaud lost no time in following his steps, and the two armies confronted each other about thirty miles from that city. But the emperor, hearing nothing of his allies, abruptly broke up his camp and marched back to Patna, to which he laid close siege for nine days. All hope of prolonging the defence was fading away, when Captain Knox, who had advanced from Bengal by forced marches to its rescue, at the hottest season of the year, was descried approaching it with a small force. The following day the two armies met, and the emperor was defeated, and his force dispersed. The Nabob of Purneah, who had been for some time intriguing with the emperor, now advanced to his assistance with 30,000 men and thirty pieces of cannon. Captain Knox, to the utter amazement of the natives of Patna, immediately crossed the Ganges to oppose his progress, with a handful of men not exceeding a battalion of sepoys and 200 Europeans, and a small squadron of cavalry. The native historian of that period vividly describes the breathless anxiety with which the inhabitants crowded on the walls to watch the issue of this desperate encounter. It was one of those battles in the early career of the English which gave prestige to their arms, and bewildered the native princes. It lasted six hours, and ended in the total defeat of the enemy. The result of the conflict was rendered the more grateful to the natives by the extraordinary valour displayed by one of their own country, raja Shitabroy, and by the high encomium bestowed on him by the English commander, as they entered the city together covered with dust. Colonel Calliaud and Meerun soon after arrived at Patna, and proceeded across the river to follow up the victory. But they had not marched far when Meerun, as he lay on his couch listening to a tale, was struck dead by a thunderbolt, and the country was rid of a monster, in whose cabinet was found a list of three hundred men of note whom he had doomed to destruction on his return.

Death of Meerun, July 2, 1760.

Meer Jaffier deposed, 1760.

The vigour of Meerun, in spite of his profligacy, had been the mainstay of the government of Moorshedabad, and his death brought on an immediate crisis. Meer Jaffier lost the little reason he ever possessed, and the administration fell into a state of complete anarchy. The troops surrounded the palace, and demanded the arrears of their pay with loud menaces, when Meer Cassim, the Nabob's son-in-law, came forward and offered to satisfy their claims from his own funds, on condition of being appointed the successor of Meerun. The Nabob accepted his terms and his services, but, in an evil hour, sent him to Calcutta, to make pecuniary arrangements, in his name, with the Council. They had an expensive war on their hands, without a rupee in their exchequer. The treasure accumulated at Moorshedabad had been exhausted, and, in the confusion and scramble of the times, no thought had been bestowed on the future. The imbecile Meer Jaffier was not the man to remove their embarrassments; on the other hand, Meer Cassim appeared to possess great talent and energy. Mr. Holwell, who had taken the command of Fort William when it was deserted by Mr. Drake, was the inveterate enemy of Meer Jaffier, and urged his colleagues at once to determine on deposing him, and elevating his son-in-law to the throne. After a show of hesitation, the members of the Council adopted his advice, and Mr. Vansittart was requested to proceed to Moorshedabad with 180 Europeans, 600 sepoys, and four guns, to persuade Meer Jaffier to resign the government of the three soobahs. The old man refused to abdicate, and threatened to appeal to Clive, his friend and protector; but the arguments of Mr. Vansittart were irresistible, and he was obliged to submit to his fate, only stipulating for a safe asylum in Calcutta, well knowing that in India deposition meant death.

Meer Cassim Nabob, 1760-1761.

Meer Cassim became soobadar, and, as the price of his elevation, ceded to the Company the three districts of Midnapore, Chittagong, and Burdwan, which were then estimated to furnish a third of the

revenue of Bengal. He agreed, moreover, to make good all arrears, and, above all, to bestow a gratuity of twenty lacs of rupees on his benefactors, of which Mr. Vansittart received five, and Mr. Holwell three lacs. The disorders of the times required a sharp remedy, but one might have been discovered without resorting to this odious breach of faith. Avarice was at the root of the transaction, and it ended in a fearful tragedy.

Meer Cassim's vigorous administration, 1761-63.

Meer Cassim met the difficulties of his position with great energy. He curtailed the extravagance of the court establishments. He abolished "the ram office, the antelope office, and the nightingale office," and many other useless and costly appendages of the menagerie department. He subjected the public accounts to a severe scrutiny, and obliged the officers to disgorge the plunder they had acquired. He exacted all arrears of rent with unexampled rigour, revised the assessment of the land, and made an addition of a crore of rupees to the annual revenue of the three provinces. These measures gave him the means of discharging all the obligations he had contracted to the English, after which he gave his entire attention to the great object of emancipating himself from the pressure of their authority, and restoring freedom to the soobah. He removed the seat of government to Monghir, a distance of 320 miles from Calcutta, where, free from observation, he prosecuted his plans of independence with such earnestness, that in less than three years, he considered himself in a position to set their power at defiance. For this rapid progress, he was mainly indebted to the exertions of an Armenian, born at Ispahan, generally known by his orientalized name of Gurghin Khan. He was originally a clothseller at Hooghly, but when entrusted with the responsibilities of office, turned out to be a man of original genius and vast resources. In less than three years, he created a force of 15,000 cavalry, and 25,000 infantry, disciplined on the model of the Company's army; he manufactured firelocks which were superior

to the Tower proof muskets; he established a foundry for casting cannon, and trained up a corps of artillerymen who would have done credit to the Company's service. Nothing was wanting to render Meer Cassim more powerful than Aliverdy Khan had ever been, but a few years of undisturbed leisure.

Transactions with the emperor, 1761.

The emperor, Shah Alum, unable to regain his capital, lingered within the limits of Behar with a horde of troops, which wasted the districts like a flight of locusts. As soon, therefore, as the rains of 1761 had subsided, Colonel Carnac marched to Gya with an English force and dispersed them. Law, the French general, whose little band of Europeans had been the chief support of the prince, was taken prisoner on this occasion. The distinguished courtesy with which he was treated by the English commander, confounded the ideas of the natives, who expected that he would have been led out to immediate execution, in accordance with the practice of oriental warfare. "Nothing," exclaims the native historian in his remark on this circumstance, "can be more modest and becoming than the behaviour of these strangers, whether in the heat of action, or in the pride of success." After the action, Colonel Carnac sent raja Shitabroy with a conciliatory message to the emperor, which was cordially welcomed, and he was conducted with suitable honours to Patna. Meer Cassim felt no little alarm on hearing of this friendly intercourse between the English commander and his own liege sovereign, and hastened to the English camp, but sullenly refused to pay his respects to the emperor. Colonel Carnac obviated his objections by bringing the parties together in his own tent, when Shah Alum received the homage of the nabob, and conferred on him the office of soobadar of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and obtained in return the promise of an annual payment of twenty-four lacs of rupees. The emperor then proceeded on his route to Delhi, and, on taking leave of the colonel, made an offer to the Company of the dewanny of the three provinces.

Spoliation of Ramnarayun, 1762.

One of the earliest objects of Meer Cassim after his elevation was the spoliation of the great provincial officers, who had amassed wealth in their respective governments. Ramnarayun, the Governor of Patna, was destined to be the first victim, but the Council in Calcutta had pledged their honour to protect him from the designs of his enemies, and the Nabob was for a time baffled. But Mr. Vansittart yielded at length to his importunities; Colonels Coote and Carnac, who insisted on keeping faith with Ramnarayun, were removed from the province, and Meer Cassim was left to wreak his vengeance on him. The unfortunate governor was immediately seized and despoiled, while his subordinate officers were pursued with all the ardour of cupidity, and tortured to disclose their wealth. Of all the proceedings of the feeble Vansittart, this was considered the most baneful, inasmuch as it destroyed the confidence which the natives had hitherto reposed in the protection of the Company's officers, and strengthened the hands of the Nabob, whose hostility to the English was daily becoming more palpable.

The transit duties, 1762.

Meer Cassim had made great progress in consolidating his government, when a storm was raised by the unprincipled conduct of the Council board in Calcutta, which eventually swept him from the throne. From the days of Munoo, the duties levied on the transit of merchandise through the country had formed one of the principal sources of the public revenue, and the highways of commerce, both by land and by water, were obstructed by custom-houses. Under the old imperial firmans, the goods of the Company intended for export by sea were allowed to pass duty free, when protected by the *dustuck*, or permit of the President. But the battle of Plassy transferred the power of the state to the Company, that is, to their servants, and they rushed eagerly into the inland trade of the country, and claimed the same exemption from duty for their own goods, which had been conceded to the merchandise of their masters.

Their servants and dependants soon came to demand the same privileges for their own adventures. The native merchants, moreover, anxious to pass their goods duty free, were led to purchase *dustucks* from some of the Company's servants, even at a high premium, and the boys in the service, with less pay than fifty rupees a month, were enabled to realise an income of 15,000 or 20,000 rupees a year. To increase the confusion, any native trader who wished to evade the duties, had only to hoist the English *nishan*, or flag, on passing a custom-house. In every instance in which this symbol of impunity was not respected, sepoys were sent to drag the Nabob's officers as culprits to the nearest factory, and they soon came to understand the danger of offering the slightest resistance to the most glaring frauds. The Nabob was deprived of his revenues; the entire trade of the country was disorganised, and nothing appeared on every side but the most perilous confusion.

Mr. Vansittart's convention, 1762.

These encroachments were rare during Clive's administration; but when his strong arm ceased to be felt, they increased to an indefinite degree. To provide a remedy for the disorders which thus threatened the peace of the country, Mr. Vansittart proceeded to Monghir, and, after a long conference with the Nabob, made an offer by way of compromise, which he at length accepted, that the trade of the Company's servants should be subject to a duty of only nine per cent., though that of his subjects was, in many cases, saddled with twenty-five per cent. This convention necessarily required the sanction of the Council board, to whom Mr. Vansittart had intended to break it with great caution, but the Nabob imprudently directed his officers to carry it at once into execution, and they entered upon the duty with little delicacy. Numerous collisions ensued, and the breach was widened. On his return to Calcutta, Mr. Vansittart encountered the most ferocious opposition from his colleagues at the board. To men with their lofty pretensions, who con-

sidered themselves masters of the country, it appeared intolerable that their commercial agents should be subjected to the authority of one whom they had themselves raised to the throne, and to the insolence, as they deemed it, of his servants. All the members of Council at the out stations were called down to Calcutta, to overawe the President, and they declared that they would pay no higher duty than two-and-a-half per cent., and that on the article of salt alone.

The Nabob abolishes all duties, 1763.

The Nabob, incensed by this declaration, determined to place his own subjects and the foreigners upon an equality by abolishing all transit duties throughout the country. The members of Council voted this measure a crime, and demanded, as a matter of right, that the native trade should be subject to the usual duties, while their own was exempted from them. It was in vain that Mr. Vansittart raised his voice against this iniquitous doctrine; he was supported only by Mr. Hastings. From words the Council at length came to blows, and Stanlake Batson, one of its most turbulent members, denounced Mr. Hastings as a partizan of the Nabob, and struck him a blow which led to a hostile challenge. After having passed this disgraceful resolution, the majority deputed Mr. Hay and Mr. Amyatt to announce it to the Nabob at Monghir.

Mr. Ellis's intemperate conduct, 1763.

During these transactions a boat proceeding to Patna with concealed arms, was searched and detained by the Nabob's officers. The affairs of the Company in that city were unfortunately at this juncture under the direction of Mr. Ellis, one of the most unscrupulous and headstrong of all the public servants. He had violently opposed the elevation of Meer Cassim, and seemed now to be anxious to precipitate a rupture with him. The boat was eventually released, but Mr. Ellis continued his hostile preparations with so little disguise, that Meer Cassim thought fit to detain Mr. Hay as a hostage for some of his own servants who had been seized; but Mr. Amyatt was allowed to return to Calcutta. Mr Ellis waited for the day which

had been fixed for their departure, and when he calculated that both of them were beyond the reach of the Nabob, seized on the city of Patna. The native commandant was obliged to retire, but on hearing that the European soldiers were confused with liquor, returned suddenly and recaptured the town. Mr. Ellis and the English gentlemen took refuge in their boats and proceeded up the river, but were overtaken and brought back prisoners to Patna. The Nabob, incensed at this outrage, ordered every Englishman throughout his dominions to be seized; and Mr. Amyatt, then on his way to Calcutta, having refused to surrender, was slain in the scuffle. The Setts, the great bankers of Moorshedabad, who were possessed of incredible wealth, and had manifested a favourable disposition to the English, were at the same time seized and conveyed to Monghir.

War with Meer Cassim. Restoration of Meer Jaffier, 1763.

Both parties now prepared for war. The Nabob augmented his army, and applied for assistance to the emperor and the Nabob vizier. The Governor and Council in Calcutta ordered their army into the field, and, at the same time, determined to reseat Meer Jaffier on the throne. The old man, seventy-two years of age, and scarcely able to move for the leprosy, was withdrawn from the obscurity to which he had retired, and required to confirm the cession of the three districts which had been made by his predecessor, to concede the flagrant exemption from duty claimed by the majority of the Council, and likewise to make large donations to them individually. The English army consisted of 650 Europeans, 1,200 sepoys, and a troop of native cavalry; and although the rains had set in, opened the campaign on the 2nd of July. On the 19th, the troops of the Nabob were defeated at Cutwa; and on the 24th, Moorshedabad was occupied and Meer Jaffier, who had accompanied the army, was placed a second time on the throne. The army reached Gheriah on the 2nd of August, and found the Nabob's well disciplined troops drawn up to dispute their advance. The battle lasted

Actions of the 19th and 24th July, and the 2nd August, 1763.

four hours, and, in the opinion of Clive, never did troops fight better than those of the Nabob. At one period of the action, indeed, they penetrated the English lines and captured two guns, and victory appeared, for a time, likely to incline to them, but the gallantry of the Europeans, and the steadiness of the sepoys bore down all opposition, and the Nabob's troops were constrained to abandon all their guns and stores, and retreat to Oodwanulla.

Massacre of the English prisoners, 1763.

This reverse threw Meer Cassim into a paroxysm of rage, and he gave way to the ferocity of his disposition. Ramnarayun, the deposed governor of Patna, was cast into the river with weights attached to his neck. Raja Rajbullub, the former governor of Dacca, was put to death, with all his sons. The Moorshedabad bankers were thrown into the Ganges from one of the bastions of the fort of Monghir. One of their favourite servants, the faithful Chunee, begged permission to share their fate, and when his request was denied, plunged into the river, determined not to survive them. Early in the month of November, the English army carried the entrenched camp at Oodwanulla, and the Nabob fled to Patna. But before his departure he ordered his officers to proceed to the house where his European prisoners were confined, and put them to death without distinction. They nobly replied that they were soldiers and not executioners. "Turn them out," they said, "with arms in their hands, and we will fight them to the death." But there was in the camp one Walter Raymond, who had been a sergeant in the French service, and now, under the name of Sumroo, held a commission in the Nabob's army, who came forward and offered to do the bloody deed. The wretch proceeded to the house with a file of soldiers, and poured in volley after volley through the venetian windows upon the defenceless victims, till forty-eight gentlemen—among whom was Mr. Ellis —and 100 soldiers lay stretched on the floor. Patna was captured on the 6th of November, and the campaign ended in four months by the flight of Meer Cassim to the court of the

The Nabob vizier marches to Patna, 1764.

Nabob vizier. The vizier had fought by the side of Ahmed Shah Abdalee at Paniput, and, in the language of the native historian, "considered himself a second Rustum." He determined to take advantage of the confusion of the times, and, six months after the termination of the war with Meer Cassim, marched down to Patna with a large but ill-trained army. It was an act of wanton aggression on his part, dictated by ambition and avarice. The emperor and the disinherited Nabob of Bengal joined his camp with a small body of followers. The English army in the field was straitened for provisions, and retired to the city of Patna, which was vigorously attacked on the 3rd of May, 1764. The assailants were repulsed, but not without great difficulty, and not before the close of the day. The Nabob vizier, after hovering about Patna for four weeks, retired to Buxar to encamp for the rains.

The first sepoy mutiny, 1764.

Major Munro, who now assumed the command of the Company's army, found the sepoys in a state of open revolt. There is no instinct of obedience in native armies in India, as in those of Europe, and their normal condition under every dynasty, native or foreign, Hindoo or Mahomedan, and in every province, has from time immemorial been that of insubordination. The British army of sepoys was no exception to the general rule. During the seven years in which they had been embodied as mercenaries under the colours of a foreign power, they had been instrumental in defeating and deposing two Nabobs of Bengal. They became inflated with an idea of their own importance, and they now manifested it by the demand of a large donation and increased pay. Such a demand from men with arms in their hands was necessarily refused, and a whole battalion marched off to the enemy with their arms and accoutrements. Major Munro, an officer of undaunted resolution, determined to subdue this spirit at all hazards. The battalion was pursued and brought back. Twenty-four of the most active of the mutineers were selected, arraigned before a field court-martial,

consisting of native officers, and found guilty. The Major ordered four of them to be blown away from the guns, when four noble looking grenadiers came forward, and demanded to be the first to suffer, as they had always been the foremost in danger. The European officers then reported that the sepoys had announced their firm resolution not to allow any further executions; but the unflinching commander loaded his guns with grape, placed his European soldiers in the intervals, and commanded the native battalions to ground arms, threatening to discharge the guns on them if a single man was seen to move. The sepoys were awed by his resolution; sixteen more were blown away; the mutiny was quenched in their blood, and discipline was restored. This was the first of that series of mutinies which broke out from time to time among the native sepoys—chiefly after a successful campaign, when they are least amenable to reason—and terminated in less than a century in the dissolution of the whole Bengal army. Major Munro shewed his masters how the insubordination of sepoys was to be dealt with, and there can be no doubt that if the same spirit and promptitude had been exhibited on every future emergency, the result would have been equally auspicious.

Battle of Buxar, October 23, 1764.

This example of severity restored the discipline of the army so effectually that within four months of the mutiny, Major Munro did not hesitate to lead his troops against the Nabob vizier, who had been encamped for several months at Buxar with an army of 50,000 men. On the 23rd of October he was attacked and completely routed, and obliged to abandon his camp, with all its stores and 130 pieces of cannon. The victory of Buxar was scarely less important to the interests of the Company than that of Plassy. It demolished the power of the Vizier, Soojah-ood-dowlah, the only chief of any importance in the north. It made the English masters of the entire valley of the Ganges, from the Himalayu to the sea, and placed Hindostan at their feet. The Nabob sent off his women and his treasure to Bareilly, and

opened negotiations with the victor, offering as the price of his forbearance, fifty lacs of rupees for the Company and the army, and eight lacs for himself. But the Council board demanded the surrender of Meer Cassim and Sumroo, as an indispensable preliminary. The former, who had been stripped of his wealth and imprisoned by his treacherous host, hastened to seek refuge among the Rohillas. With regard to Sumroo, the Vizier offered to invite him to an entertainment, and cause him to be assassinated in the presence of any English gentleman who might be deputed to witness and certify his death. The offer was indignantly rejected.

Arrangement with Meer Jaffier, 1764.

Immediately after the battle of Buxar, the emperor joined the English camp, and commenced negotiations with the Council in Calcutta. They proposed that the forfeited territories of the Vizier should be partitioned between them, the Company receiving the zemindary of Benares, and the emperor the remainder, on condition of defraying all the expenses of the war. But the arrangement fell to the ground. Meanwhile, the government in Calcutta was on the verge of bankruptcy. The war was not only expensive, as all wars must be, but it was conducted on a system of profligate extravagance and peculation which completely exhausted the treasury. Meer Jaffier was, therefore, brought down to Calcutta to concert some means of relieving the pressing necessities of the Council. His position required a passive acquiescence in whatever they might chose to dictate, and they required him to contribute five lacs of rupees a month towards the expenses of the war, as long as it might last; but they did not forget themselves. He was also charged with the payment of what they had the impudence to call "compensation for losses," that is, for losses, real or fictitious, sustained by them and their friends in the illicit monopoly of the necessaries of life. The demand was at first stated at ten lacs of rupees, but they soon dismissed all delicacy of feeling and raised it to thirty, and then to forty lacs, and did not pause till it had reached fifty-three lacs. It

was, moreover, provided that this nefarious claim should be satisfied before any payment was made to the Company's treasury for the expenses of the war; which were met by the ingenious device of lending to the Government at an exorbitant rate of interest, the sums paid to individuals by the Nabob. The effrontery exhibited during these five years' of crime makes one blush for the honour of England; and the only relief to the mind is to be found in the consideration that it was an exceptional case.

Death of Meer Jaffier, Jan. 1765.

These importunities, combined with the age and infirmities of the Nabob, hastened his end, and he expired in January, 1765. Then came the question of appointing his successor. The making of Nabobs had been, for seven years, one of the most lucrative employments of the Council, and the fourth opportunity which was now presented, was not to be neglected. Mr. Vansittart had retired from the chair, and was succeeded by Mr. Spencer, a Bombay civilian, without either talent or probity. The Court of Directors, exasperated by the iniquity of their servants in Calcutta, had issued peremptory orders for the suppression of the inland trade, and for the execution of "covenants," binding them not to receive presents from native princes. These injunctions reached Calcutta before the death of Meer Jaffier. Mr. Spencer and his colleagues, were, moreover, aware that Lord Clive was on the eve of embarking for India to root out abuses; no time was, therefore, to be lost in the appointment of another Nabob. The covenants were thrown aside, and Nujum-ood-dowlah, the son of Meer Jaffier, was raised to the throne, and required to make donations to the members of the Council to the extent of twenty lacs of rupees, as well as to sanction the inland trade, exempt from the payment of all duty.

Clive's second administration, 1765.

Clive, on his return to England in 1760, was received with great distinction by the king, the minister, Mr. Pitt, and the nation, and honoured with an Irish peerage. The India House, likewise, paid

homage to his talents and his success; but the Court of Directors was scarcely less demoralized by intrigue and jobbery than the Council board in Calcutta by venality and rapacity, and Clive was speedily brought into collision with the leading faction, at the head of which was Mr. Sullivan. In 1757, Meer Jaffier had ceded to the Company certain lands lying to the south of Calcutta, of the annual value of ten lacs of rupees, reserving to himself the quit-rent of three lacs a year. Two years after, the Nabob manifested his gratitude for the services of Clive by making him a donation of the quit-rent, which he received for several years without interruption. But Mr. Sullivan and his party having gained the ascendancy in the Court of Directors in 1763, sent out orders to Calcutta, without any communication with Clive, to withhold the usual payment, assigning no other reason for this act of injustice than the cessation of all cordiality between him and the Court. Clive was, therefore, obliged to file a bill in chancery for the recovery of his rights. But while this contest was raging, intelligence was received in London of the war with Meer Cassim, the massacre of the European prisoners, and the total disorganization of the government in Calcutta. The proprietors of India stock saw with dismay the golden dreams of prosperity in which they had indulged vanishing away, and, in spite of the opposition of the Directors, resolved to send out the man to whom they owed all their greatness, to retrieve their affairs. They determined also to entrust the powers of government, which had hitherto been vested in a council of sixteen, to a select commitee of five. Clive was surrounded by friends and admirers, and in the enjoyment of an income of four lacs of rupees a year; there was therefore no inducement for him to return to India, but he had been actuated throughout life by a high sense of duty, and he did not hesitate to accept the charge of a government which was justly described as "headstrong and corrupt, and lost to every sense of honour."

Clive landed at Calcutta on the 3rd of May, and found

Condition of Bengal, 1765.

that the political dangers had passed off. Meer Cassim had been expelled from Bengal, the Nabob vizier had been vanquished, and the emperor was a suppliant. But there were other and more alarming perils to be encountered. Vast fortunes had been amassed by "the most nefarious and oppressive conduct ever known in any age or country." The power of the Company's servants had been employed in levying contributions on every class, from the Nabob down to the lowest zemindar. Even the exaction of twenty lacs of rupees from the young Nabob on his elevation, in defiance of the express orders of the Court of Directors, was openly avowed without a blush. Luxury, corruption, and débauchery pervaded every rank of the service, and threatened the dissolution of all government. Clive found Spencer, the governor, "as deep in the mire as any other," and he felt himself justified in affirming that "there were not five men of principle left at the Presidency." The massacre of the English gentlemen by Sumroo had thinned the ranks of the civil service; many of the seniors had returned to England laden with plunder, and young men had thus been pushed forward to posts of importance, with little judgment or experience, but inflamed with the most extravagant expectations by the success of those who had preceded them. Clive's first duty was to enforce the execution of the covenants which abolished the receipt of presents, but he was met on the threshold by an attempt to question the powers of the Select Committee, and an effort was made to browbeat him, but he soon reduced the refractory to silence by declaring that he would not allow his authority to be controverted for a moment, and that he would peremptorily dismiss from the service every officer who refused to sign the covenants.

Arrangement with the nabob, the vizier, and the emperor, 1765.

On the 25th of June, Clive left Calcutta for the upper provinces, to dispose of the weighty questions which awaited his decision. He attributed the recent war with Meer Cassim to the impru-

dence of Mr. Vansittart, in advising him to form and discipline an army, and to render it efficient by just and punctual payment. To prevent the recurrence of this cause of anxiety, the Nabob of Moorshedabad was relieved of all responsibility for the military defence of the country, and of the management of the revenue. The sum of fifty-three lacs of rupees a year was assigned him for the expenses of his court and the administration of justice. He received the proposal with ecstacy. "Thank God," he exclaimed, "I shall now have as many dancing-girls as I like." With regard to the Nabob vizier, he had invaded Behar without the least provocation, on the mere impulse of cupidity, but his power had been irretrievably crushed by the battle of Buxar, the capture of Lucknow, and a second defeat at Corah. Seeing his fortunes desperate, he repaired to the camp of General Carnac, and threw himself on the consideration of the English authorities. His kingdom was forfeited by the laws of war and the usage of the country, but Clive evinced his moderation by restoring it to him, with the exception of the two districts of Corah and Allahabad, which were reserved for the emperor. Such an instance of generosity in a victorious enemy was unknown in India, and excited emotions of the deepest gratitude. The emperor, though he had appeared in arms against the English at the battle of Buxar, was gratified with the revenues of the two districts assigned to him, which, with the annual payment of twenty-six lacs of rupees from Bengal and Behar, for which he was likewise indebted to the kindness of the English chief, constituted his whole dependence.

The Dewanny, Aug. 12, 1765. After the completion of these arrangements, Clive requested that the Dewanny of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, which the emperor had repeatedly offered to the Company, should be conferred on them by an imperial firman. The act was completed on the 12th of August, 1765, a memorable day in the political and constitutional history of British India. As a substitute for a throne, two dining-tables were joined together in Clive's tent, and covered with em-

broidery. The emperor took his seat on a chair planted on them, and transferred the government of twenty-five millions of people, and an annual revenue of four crores of rupees to Lord Clive, on behalf of the Company. The Mahomedan historian of the time, scandalized by the simplicity which marked the completion of this grand transaction, exclaims with indignation that "a business of so much importance, which, at other times, would have required the sending of wise ministers and able envoys, was done and finished in less time than would have been taken up in the sale of a jackass." This affair serves to exemplify that expansion of views which results from the progress of events in the East. On the eve of his departure from England, in April, 1764, Clive assured the Court of Directors that "nothing but extreme necessity ought to induce us to extend our ideas of territorial acquisitions beyond the three districts ceded by Meer Cassim, in his treaty with Mr. Vansittart." Before sixteen months had elapsed, he congratulated the Court on the acquisition of three provinces, and a clear revenue of two crores of rupees a year. Yet with this pregnant proof of the fallacy of his judgment, he thought fit again to fix the limits of the British empire in India, and informed the Court that "it was his resolution and hope always to confine our possessions to these provinces, and he declared that to go farther was a scheme so extravagantly ambitious that no government in its senses would ever dream of it." The Court of Directors, with all due modesty, concurred in the necessity of accepting the provinces. "When we consider," they wrote, "that the barrier of the country government was entirely broken down, and every Englishman throughout the country armed with an authority that owned no superior, and exercising his power to the oppression of the helpless natives, who knew not whom to obey; at such a crisis, we cannot hesitate to approve your obtaining the Dewanny for the Company."

The mutiny of the officers, 1766.

In announcing this acquisition to the India House, Clive remarked, "we have established

such a force that all the powers in Hindostan cannot deprive us of our possessions for many years," little dreaming that within a few months, the existence of that power would be endangered by that very force. The military expenses had hitherto swallowed up the resources of the Company. The army considered itself the most important department of the state, and the commanders, in the pride of their position, had endeavoured to imbue the native princes with the conviction that the power of the British government was lodged with them rather than with the civil authorities in Calcutta. A few months more of Mr. Spencer's servile administration would probably have rendered them masters of the country. The officers had been in the habit of receiving an allowance called *batta* when they took the field. Meer Jaffier, out of gratitude for his elevation, had increased this gratuity, and the army soon came to consider double batta as their right. When the Court of Directors became responsible for the finances of the country, they resolved to discontinue this extravagant allowance; but the officers resented any interference with their interests, and the Council board was deterred by their imperiousness from carrying the orders into execution. The abolition of the double batta was enjoined on Clive when he was leaving England, and he lost no time, after his arrival, in announcing that it would cease after the 1st of January, 1766. The officers were little disposed to submit to a measure which affected even a captain's allowance to the extent of 1,000 rupees a month, and those in the higher grades in a larger proportion. The announcement of the order was the signal for mutiny, and a universal combination was formed to compel Clive to retract it. A committee of secrecy was organized in each of the three brigades, and a fund created to reimburse officers for any loss they might sustain; and to this fund the discontented and factious civilians in Calcutta contributed more than a lac and a half of rupees. It was agreed that two hundred officers should throw up their commissions on the same day; and, as an

army of 50,000 Mahrattas was advancing for the invasion of Behar, it was calculated that the government would be under the necessity of giving way to retain their services.

Resolution of Clive, 1766.

It was a crisis of singular peril, but exactly fitted to the daring genius of Clive. He felt that to yield to the demands of men with arms in their hands was to abandon the government to them, and he declared that he must see the soldiers' bayonets levelled at his throat before he could be induced to give way. He directed the commandants to accept every commission that was tendered, and to send the offender under arrest to Calcutta; at the same time, he ordered up all the officers and cadets who could be spared from Madras. Taking with him the officers who yet remained faithful to their colours, he hastened to Monghir, arrested the ringleaders, and ordered them to be tried by court-martial. His undaunted resolution overawed the spirit of insubordination, and many of the officers who had been persuaded to join the malcontents, entreated permission to recall their resignations, and were allowed to return to their duty. He then proceeded to Benares, where the same energy produced the same beneficial results. In two instances the sepoys, who had themselves been in a state of mutiny two years before, were actively employed in coercing their European officers, and exhibited such fidelity and steadiness, that one battalion marched more than a hundred miles in fifty-four hours, and arrived at its destination in time to avert an outbreak. Thus was this formidable confederacy, which brought the affairs of the Company to the brink of destruction, dissolved in the brief period of a fortnight, by an energy which reflected not less credit on the name of Clive than the battle of Plassy.

Society for inland trade. 1766.

It remained for Clive to deal with the difficult question of the trade of the public servants, to which the Court of Directors attributed all the anarchy and bloodshed of the preceding five years. From the earliest period, the East India Company had followed the

example of all other commercial companies, in restricting their agents abroad to a mere pittance of salary, and allowing them to eke it out by private trade, and thus were the servants enriched at the expense of the masters. The same system was continued when the factory had expanded into a kingdom, and their servants entered on the government of provinces with unchecked power. The consequence was that from the governor to the youngest writer, from the general to the ensign, not excepting even the chaplains, all classes were busily engaged in commercial pursuits, which was rendered lucrative by the influence of their dominant position. In April, 1764, the Court of Directors thought that the evil might be remedied, simply by ordering that the trade should cease, without proposing any compensation to their officers; but in a subsequent despatch they had the wisdom to modify this order by directing Clive to devise some equitable plan which should be satisfactory both to the government and the service. Clive felt that it was indispensable to the peace and prosperity of the country that the servants of the state should not be allowed to compete with the native dealers in every market, and equally indispensable to the integrity and efficiency of the public service that the officers of the government should not be left to starve in the midst of wealth which their position enabled them to grasp. He, therefore, established a Society for conducting a traffic in salt, on the principle of a monopoly, the profits of which, after a reservation of ten lacs of rupees a-year to the Company, should be divided among the servants of the Company according to their rank; the member of Council and the colonel receiving 70,000 rupees a-year, and the subordinate officers, civil and military, in due proportion. The scheme continued in operation for two years, and was then abolished by orders from home, which substituted in its stead a commission of two-and-a-half per cent. on the gross revenue of the provinces.

Clive's return to England, 1767.

After a residence of twenty-two months in India, Clive was driven back to England by a

severe attack of disease. In the large transactions in which he had been engaged, involving the fate of great kingdoms, and the disposal of crores of rupees, he might easily have added fifty lacs of rupees to his fortune, but he returned to his native land poorer than he had left it. It has fallen to the lot of few men to exercise so important and permanent an influence on the course of human affairs. When he landed in Calcutta in 1757, he found the Company's factory in ruins, and their servants in exile. By 1767, he had made the Company the sovereigns of twenty-five millions of people, and masters of a revenue, little short of one-half that of England. He had laid the foundation of a great empire containing an irrepressible element of expansion. He had established the supremacy of Europe in Asia. His reception in England corresponded at first with his eminent merits, but it was not long before he was made to taste the bitterness of ingratitude. His greatness excited envy and censure. The members of the civil service, whose rapacity he had defeated abroad, made large purchases of India stock on their return to England, and became members of the corporation in Leadenhall-street, that they might more effectually wreak their vengeance on him. His rancorous enemy, Sullivan, endeavoured by garbled statements to persuade Parliament that all the difficulties of the Company were to be attributed to his measures. The Court of Directors restored almost every civil and military culprit whom he had cashiered for peculation or mutiny. The Attorney-General proposed to confiscate all the donations he had received from native princes in India, and the Prime Minister joined the hue and cry against him. In Parliament his conduct was described by his opponents "as a mass of the most unheard-of villanies and corruption." But when a vote of censure was pressed on the House, the members shrunk from the scandal of fixing a brand of infamy on the man who had given England a kingdom larger than itself, and came to the resolution that he had rendered great and

meritorious services to his country. But his lofty spirit could ill-brook the persecution he had been subjected to, and under the pressure of bodily and mental suffering, he put a period to his existence in November, 1774.

Death of Clive 1774.

Wretched condition of Bengal, 1767 1772.

Lord Clive was succeeded in the government by Mr. Verelst, a man of strict integrity, but without sufficient resolution to cope with the disorders of the times. Clive, with all his genius, had committed the great error of establishing the system of double government, which for five years proved to be the curse of Bengal. The administration was nominally vested in the Nabob, in whose name the revenue was collected and justice administered, by native officers, but the irresistible power of the rapacious servants of the Company paralysed the whole system of government, and introduced endless intrigue and oppression. Those whom Clive had constrained to sign the covenants against presents, treated them as waste paper as soon as his back was turned, and plunged with increased ardour and perfect impunity into the trade of the country. Every man who was permitted to make out a bill, made a fortune; and the nefarious charges of contractors, commissaries, engineers, and other officers drained the treasury. The Council was without the power, even if they had possessed the will, to check these abuses. The three natives who managed the revenues enriched themselves, and left the governor to borrow money for the public service. It was at this period, and through their connivance, that the great majority of rent-free tenures was created, and an annual revenue little short of forty lacs of rupees was alienated from the resources of the state. It was a period of transition between the dissolution of the old Mahomedan government and the vigorous development of British sovereignty, and it was, as usual, fruitful of anomalies, and not wanting in guilt. These evils were aggravated to a fearful extent by the great famine of 1770, which swept away one-third of the population of the lower provinces.

CHAPTER XII.

PROGRESS OF EVENTS AT MADRAS AND BOMBAY, 1761—1772.

State of affairs at Madras.

To return now to the progress of events at the Madras Presidency. The extinction of the French power in India by the capture of Pondicherry, had given Mahomed Ali, the ally of the English, the undisputed title of Nabob of the Carnatic, and, though he had afforded them no assistance during the war, he regarded himself as the absolute ruler of the country. But he was conspicuous even among the princes of India for his imbecility; and his army was a mere rabble, which devoured the resources of a territory they were unable to protect. The Company thus found themselves, by the issue of the war, saddled with the defence of a province comprising 50,000 square miles, without any resources for the maintenance of a costly army, but the profits of their trade, which belonged to their constituents in London. They were constrained, therefore, to demand a contribution of fifty lacs of rupees from Mahomed Ali, to discharge the obligations they had contracted during the recent conflict. But the Carnatic had been without any settled government for twenty years; every invader had desolated its districts, and the polygars paid no revenue but at the sword's point. The country was, moreover, now in the hands of a court at once wasteful and neglectful, which had been subsisting for many years on loans raised on exorbitant terms at Madras, which impaired the strength of those who borrowed the money, and the morals of those who lent it.

Affairs of Tanjore, 1763.

To meet this demand, the Nabob proposed to the government of Madras to despoil the governors of Vellore and the Marawars, and more particularly the rajah of Tanjore, whose principality had, to a certain extent, escaped the ravages of war, and which he was anxious to appropriate to himself Tanjore was an independent province,

which had never been incorporated with the Mogul empire, though it had often yielded to the pressure of invasion, and paid contributions when unable to evade them. The President at Madras, with an exhausted treasury, manifested the greatest reluctance to go to war with this state, and effected an amicable adjustment of the Nabob's demand for a payment of twenty-two lacs of rupees in four instalments, and four lacs of rupees a year as tribute. But the Nabob derived little benefit from this arrangement, as the Court of Directors ordered the sums as they arrived, to be taken to the treasury at Madras, and placed to the credit of his account.

The peace of Paris, 10th February, 1763.

The war between the French and the English was terminated by the peace of Paris, which restored to the former all the factories they had possessed in India. It likewise stipulated that in order to preserve future peace on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa, the English and the French should acknowledge Mahomed Ali for lawful Nabob of the Carnatic, and Salabut Jung, for lawful Soobadar of the Deccan. Clive was then in England, and endeavoured to convince the ministry, who knew nothing about Indian politics, of the danger and embarrassment which this clause would inevitably entail, but could only secure a slight and unimportant modification of it.* It involved the double absurdity of disposing unceremoniously of territories belonging to the crown of Delhi, and of acknowledging the authority of Salabut Jung, eighteen months after he had ceased to reign. He had been deposed and confined on the 10th of July, 1761, by his brother, Nizam Ali, who, on finding that his rights were acknowledged by the two foreign European powers, so formidable to the princes of the Deccan, lost no time in causing him to be assassinated, and the treaty which was intended to secure to him the possession of the the throne, became the cause of his death. Soon after, Nizam Ali invaded the Carnatic with a large army, laying waste the districts through which he passed, with the greatest barbarity. The English troops came up to the rescue, and

faced the Nizam at Tripety, but he had no mind to try conclusions with them, and instantly evacuated the country. During these events, Clive happened to touch at Madras on his way to Calcutta, and was requested by the Nabob to obtain a firman from Delhi, releasing him from dependence on the Nizam; and on the 12th of August in the same year, Mahomed Ali was empowered by the emperor's sunnud to hold his fief directly of the imperial crown.

Acquisition of the Northern sircars, 12th Aug. 1765.

To meet the expenses of their military establishment at Madras, the Court of Directors were anxious to obtain a permanent right to the Northern sircars on the Coromandel coast, which had furnished the sinews of war to Bussy, and which were embraced in the districts ceded to Colonel Forde by Salabut Jung in 1758. The Madras President had, at one time, offered to farm them of the Nizam at a high rent, but the proposal was declined. Clive, however, during his second administration, disposed of the question in a very summary manner. On the memorable 12th of August, when he received the Dewanny from the emperor, he likewise requested an imperial grant of the Northern sircars for the Company, which was necessarily granted. The Nizam, who had already lost his hold on the Carnatic, was not disposed tamely to part with this province likewise, and on hearing that an English force had been sent to take possession of the districts, threatened to march down and exterminate them, and also made preparations for the invasion of the Carnatic. The timid Presidency of Madras, alarmed at these menaces, directed their commander, General Calliaud, to suspend all military operations, and proceed to Hyderabad to enter into negotiations with the Nizam.

Treaty with the Nizam, 12th Nov. 1766.

They resulted in the disastrous and humiliating treaty of the 12th of November, 1766, by which the Madras authorities agreed to hold the Northern sircars, which had been conferred on them by the paramount power in India, as a tributary tenure under the Nizam, at eight lacs of rupees a year, and, in addition, to make an immediate

donation of five lacs. But what was still more objectionable, the President involved the Company in the intricate web of Deccan politics, by engaging to furnish the Nizam with two battalions of infantry and six pieces of cannon, "to settle, in everything right and proper, the affairs of his highness's government," well knowing that the first requisition for the troops would be to assist in attacking Hyder Ali, who had recently usurped the Mysore throne, and against whom a confederacy had been formed of the Mahrattas and the Nizam.

Rise of Hyder Ali.

We turn, therefore, to the rise and progress of this extraordinary chief, who proved, eventually, to be the most formidable and inveterate foe the English ever encountered in India. The principality of Mysore was one of the provinces of the Hindoo kingdom of Beejuynugur, which was extinguished on the field of Tellicotta in 1564. In the confusion created by this event, it fell to the lot of a Hindoo prince, whose descendants continued, for two centuries, to maintain their independence and to encroach on their neighbours. About the year 1750, the old dynasty having become effete, the whole power of the state fell into the hands of the minister, Nunjeraj. It was at this juncture that Hyder appeared on the scene, and, in a few years, superseded both king and minister. His family came originally from the Punjab, and his father, Futteh Mahomed, gradually rose to be a sirdar of peons, or head constable, and then obtained the command of a small body of troops. Hyder was born about the year 1702, and, as he advanced in years, gave himself up to the pleasures of the chase, and plunged into voluptuous riot. Like Sevajee, he was never able to read or write, but this deficiency was in some measure supplied by an extraordinary memory. He remained in complete obscurity during forty-seven years of his life, and first entered the Mysore army as a volunteer at the siege of Deonhully, where his energy and self-possession attracted the notice of Nunjeraj.

The foundation of his fortune, 1755.

The minister immediately promoted him to the command of 50 horse and 200 infantry, with instructions to augment their number, and it was this commission which laid the foundation of his future fortune. In 1755, the difficult task of providing for the safety of the fortress of Dindigul, lying to the south of Trichinopoly, was committed to him, and it was while in command of this post that he appears first to have entertained those ambitious views which he was enabled to bring to a consummation in the brief space of six years. Dindigul became the cradle of his power, and it was there that he increased his resources by a system of plunder, of which there had been no example since the days of Sevajee. His troops were let loose indiscriminately on every one, friend or foe, who had anything to lose, and their zeal was sharpened by permission to retain half the booty for themselves. Hyder's progress to power was aided in no small degree by his unrivalled power of dissimulation. Having on one occasion reported a great victory to Nunjeraj, that minister sent his commissary to bestow the usual pensions for wounds, when 700 men were exhibited to him, wrapped in bandages which had been steeped in turmeric, whereas only 67 had been wounded. By similar acts of deceit, and by the repetition of false musters, he was enabled to obtain large supplies of money, and to increase his force to 7,000. At the same time, he procured skilled artizans from the French settlements on the coast, and established an arsenal and a laboratory, and brought his artillery to a high degree of perfection.

The Peshwa besieges Seringapatam, 1757. Hyder's acquisitions

In 1757, the Peshwa, Balajee Rao, made one of his periodical raids into Mysore, and, with the aid of the European engineers whom he had enlisted, laid close siege to Seringapatam. The minister was obliged to purchase a respite by the sacrifice of thirty-two lacs of rupees, and to pledge a large territory for the amount he was unable to furnish in money and jewels. The Mysore treasury was exhausted by this heavy drain, and the troops

became mutinous for their arrears. Hyder hastened to the capital, and engaged to satisfy their claims, on receiving the assignment of fresh jaygeers. By this politic act he increased his resources, and at the same time obtained an influence over the troops, and all classes began to regard him as the guardian of order. Soon after, he persuaded the minister to expel the Mahratta officers from the districts which had been pledged to the Peshwa, who immediately entered the country with a large force. Hyder was appointed to the command of the Mysore army, and harassed the Mahrattas in their own style of warfare, with so much effect that they offered to relinquish the mortgaged territory for an immediate payment. Hyder raised the money from the bankers of the city on his own personal security, and the districts were transferred to him. Then came fresh mutinies, and the raja and the minister were besieged in their palaces. Hyder was at hand to satisfy the troops and received fresh assignments, till he found himself in possession of half the domains of the state.

Hyder assists Lally, 1760.

Lally was at this time besieged by Coote in Pondicherry, and solicited the aid of Hyder, who engaged to furnish him with 8,000 horse and foot and a due proportion of artillery, on being put in possession of the important fortress of Thiagur. His relative and general, Mukdoom Ali, on his way to Pondicherry with the troops, fell in with a small English detachment, and defeated it. Hyder was so elated with this success, that he immediately ordered the strength of his contingent to be doubled. If this increased force had reached the French settlement while it was besieged, the war between the English and the French might have exhibited a very different result. But Hyder was suddenly obliged to recall the whole force for the protection of his own interests. His usurpation of authority had created great indignation at the court, and the queen-mother and the raja, in conjunction with his bosom friend, Khundeh Rao, determined to take advantage of the absence of these troops

to crush his rising power. He was encamped under the fort of Seringapatam with only 1,600 men, when the guns were unexpectedly opened on him, and he was obliged to fly for his life. He retreated to Bangalore, and recalled his troops from Pondicherry, but was overtaken and signally defeated by Khundeh Rao.

Hyder recovers his fortunes, and usurps the throne, 1761.

Hyder's fortunes now appeared desperate, but they were restored by his matchless tact and hypocrisy. Unarmed and alone, he suddenly presented himself before the minister, Nunjeraj, acknowledged his ingratitude with an appearance of the deepest penitence, and entreated that he might be forgiven, and allowed to serve under him in any capacity, however mean. Nunjeraj was so simple as to give faith to these professions and condone his offence, and Hyder was thus enabled to assemble an army, but Khundeh Rao still followed him with such vigour that his escape appeared impossible. In this emergency, he contrived to throw in the way of his pursuer letters addressed to his officers, with the seal of Nunjeraj, in which allusion was made to certain treacherous proposals. Khundeh Rao, considering himself betrayed by his own officers, quitted his army, and fled with precipitation to Seringapatam. Hyder was now enabled to assemble a powerful army, with which he ascended the ghauts, and on his arrival at the capital in May, sent a message to the raja stating, "that large sums were due to him from the state, which must be liquidated, after which, if the raja thought fit to continue his services, it was well; otherwise he would depart and seek his fortune elsewhere." Such a message, backed by an overwhelming force, could not be misunderstood. The raja yielded to necessity, and in June, 1761, relinquished the government to Hyder Ali, on receiving an assignment of lands of the annual value of three lacs of rupees for himself, and one lac for Nunjeraj.

Augmentation of Hyder's power, 1763.

Hyder now master of the kingdom of Mysore, directed all his energies to its aggrandisement,

and in the course of two years extended his frontier to the banks of the Kistna. In 1763, he invaded the territory of Bednore, on the summit of the ghauts, which overlooked the maritime province of Canara. The capital was eight miles in circumference, and the country had not been exposed to the desolation of war. The queen set fire to her palace, and fled with a large portion of the inhabitants into the woods, and Bednore submitted without a struggle. It is said to have been the most wealthy city in the Deccan, and the plunder which Hyder acquired has been estimated at twelve crores of rupees. This sum is a manifest exaggeration, but he himself always attributed his subsequent prosperity to the treasure he acquired in this city. He had previously changed his name from Hyder Naik to Hyder Ali Khan Bahadoor, and he now introduced greater etiquette and splendour into the arrangements of his court, and moreover took advantage of the access he had obtained to the sea coast, to commence the construction of a navy.

Accession of Madhoo Rao, Peshwa, Sept., 1761.

To turn now to the progress of affairs among the Mahrattas. On the death of Balajee Rao, after the fatal defeat at Paniput, his son, Madhoo Rao, a youth of eighteen, proceeded to Satara, in company with his uncle, Roghoonath Rao, known in British annals as Raghoba, and was invested with the office of Peshwa by the descendant of Sevajee, who was still held in confinement by his cruel grandmother, Tara-bye. Nizam Ali, the dewan, or prime minister of his brother Salabut Jung, who had usurped the whole power of the Hyderabad kingdom, resolved to take advantage of the crippled state of the Mahrattas, and the confusion of a new reign, to recover the district which the deceased Peshwa had wrested from him in the preceding year. He marched to Poona with a large army, but, on arriving within fourteen miles of it, was induced to relax his demands, and accept lands yielding twenty-seven lacs of rupees a year. Six months after, he placed his brother under restraint, and not long after, when intelligence

arrived that he had been recognised soobadar of the Deccan, by the peace of Paris, caused him to be put to death. Before the cession of the districts was completed, the restless Raghoba assembled his troops to oppose Nizam Ali, who immediately formed an alliance with Bhonslay, the raja of Berar, and marched again to Poona which, on this occasion, he plundered and burnt. Raghoba retaliated on him by marching to Hyderabad, and laying it under contributions. The two armies met on the banks of the Godavery. The faithless Bhonslay was induced by the promise of lands, valued at thirty-two lacs of rupees a year, to desert Nizam Ali, and join Raghoba; and the result of this treachery was the entire defeat of the Nizam with immense slaughter. The raja of Berar, however, was not long permitted to retain the fruits of his perfidy. He had incensed the Peshwa by joining Nizam Ali, and Nizam Ali by deserting to the Mahrattas on the eve of the battle, and in 1766, the united armies of these princes invaded Berar, and constrained him to restore four-fifths of the territory he had gained by his treachery.

Nizam Ali defeated by Raghoba, 1763.

Mahrattas attack and defeat Hyder, 1765.

Mysore had hitherto been considered by the Mahrattas a submissive province, paying *chout*, and affording a field for plunder when no other expedition happened to be on hand. The sudden rise and rapid encroachment of a new power roused the indignation of the Peshwa; and, having disposed of Nizam Ali, he determined to chastise the audacity of Hyder, who had already increased his force to 20,000 horse and 40,000 foot, one-half of which consisted of well-disciplined infantry battalions. It was his first regular encounter with the Mahrattas, and he was completely foiled in all his movements. At the close of the monsoon, the Mahrattas again took the field, and forced Hyder to a general action in which he was again routed, with the loss of 10,000 men. The Mahratta horse spread over the country and plundered it without mercy, and Hyder considered himself fortunate in obtaining peace by the restora-

tion of the greater portion of the districts he had usurped, and the payment of thirty-two lacs of rupees. These disasters shook his power in the other provinces he had recently conquered, and it required a full year to restore his authority. Early in 1766, his ambition led him to invade the maritime province of Malabar. The Nairs, or military chieftains, anxious to maintain their hereditary renown, and to preserve their independence, offered a noble resistance, but their chivalrous valour could not avert their fate, and the whole province was reduced to subjection. In his progress along the coast, Hyder reached the town of Calicut, memorable as the place where the Europeans first set foot on the soil of India. The district had never been invaded by the Mahomedan arms, and the Hindoo chief still bore the title of Zamorin, as in the days of Albuquerque. He was awed into submission by the overwhelming force of Hyder, but seeing his minister subjected to torture, he set fire to his palace, and voluntarily perished in the flames to avoid a similar fate.

Confederacy against Hyder, 1766.

From these schemes of conquest Hyder was recalled to Seringapatam, to meet a confederacy which had been formed towards the close of 1766 by the Nizam and the Mahrattas, for the entire conquest of his country. Into this league the Madras Presidency was unfortunately drawn by the treaty concluded with the Nizam on the 12th of November in that year, which stipulated that the English should assist him with an auxiliary force, of undefined strength, "to settle the affairs of his government in everything that was right and proper," though it was distinctly understood that the first service in which it was to be employed was the conquest or plunder of Mysore. The government of Madras was then under Mr. Palk, who had gone out to India as a chaplain, but renounced his orders to enter the more lucrative civil service of the Company, in which he amassed a large fortune, and on his return to England was created a baronet. It was this unfortunate treaty which involved the Presidency in a war with Hyder,

and subjected them eventually to the greatest ignominy. The Mahrattas determined to forestal the Nizam, and without waiting for his co-operation, crossed the Kistna in January, 1767, and before the end of March had plundered the northern districts to the extent of seventeen lacs of rupees. Hyder discreetly bought them off by a payment of thirty lacs more. Madhoo Rao, the Peshwa, on his return from this successful expedition in May, met the Nizam's army at Colar, and was requested to share the plunder with it, but he treated the request with derision, and returned to his capital, leaving him and his English ally to settle with Hyder as they best could.

Nizam deserts the English and joins Hyder, 1767.

Colonel Smith who commanded the contingent of British troops, found, on joining the Nizam's camp, that this perfidious prince, had already entered into negotiations with Hyder, and the Colonel advised the Presidency to be prepared for the invasion of the Carnatic by their ally, as well as by their enemy. To remove suspicion the Nizam made the strongest protestations of inviolable good faith; but Colonel Smith, on entering the Mysore territory in May, 1767, perceived such unequivocal tokens of collusion, that he retired with the bulk of his force towards his own frontier, leaving only three battalions and some field pieces with the Nizam, at his special request. While this negotiation was in progress, the Nizam was intriguing with Nunjeraj, formerly minister of the old raj of Mysore, for the subversion of Hyder's power. Hyder, who had discovered the plot, invited Nunjeraj to Seringapatam, after taking a solemn oath on the Koran to do him no harm, and, on his arrival, showed him that the oath had been taken on a book of blank leaves, and then stripped him of all his property, and consigned him to perpetual imprisonment. The bargain being now completed, the Nizam engaged to join in an attack on the English, on receiving an immediate payment of twenty lacs of rupees, and a promise of six lacs of tribute. But this scene of treachery was relieved by one act of gene-

rosity; the English contingent of three battalions was allowed to leave the Nizam's camp without being attacked. The combined army of Hyder and the Nizam which now advanced against the English, numbered 42,000 cavalry, 28,000 infantry, and 100 guns, while Colonel Smith was only able to muster 1,030 sabres, and 5,800 bayonets, with 16 guns.

Battle of Changama, 3rd Sept., 1767.

The first encounter with the English troops took place on the 25th of August, when a small detachment was surprised and discomfited. The honour of the British flag was, however, retrieved at Changama, where Colonel Smith totally routed the allied force; but as the Madras Council had entrusted the charge of the commissariat to their Nabob, Mahomed Ali, and he had, as usual, disappointed them, Colonel Smith found his army straitened for provisions, and was obliged to fall back on Trinomalee, where, after various manœuvres, he was able to offer battle to the allies. The engagement lasted two days, and ended in their total defeat, with the loss of 4,000 men and 64 guns. Their discomfiture would have been more complete, if the officer sent to improve the victory had not been led into a swamp by his guide, who, like most of the guides attached to this force, was one of Hyder's spies. Meanwhile his eldest son, Tippoo, then seventeen years of age, was employed with a body of 5,000 horse, in plundering the country houses of the Madras gentry in the vicinity of the town, and the members of government escaped capture only by the eagerness of the Mysore troops for booty; but on hearing the result of the action at Trinomalee, he hastily retired and rejoined his father's camp. For the next three months both parties were engaged in various operations, without interest or result, and Hyder was soon after called to the western coast, and deserted by the Nizam.

Expedition from Bengal, and treaty with the Nizam, 1767—68.

The government of Bengal had not only assisted Madras with money for the support of the war, but sent an expedition under Colonel Peach by sea into the Hyderabad territories to create

a diversion. He landed in the Northern Sircars, and penetrated the country to Warungole, the ancient metropolis of Telingana, only eighty-six miles from Hyderabad. Nizam Ali began to repent of his alliance with Hyder, which had brought him neither plunder nor territory, but abundant disgrace. He began, moreover, to tremble for his own capital, on which Colonel Peach was steadily advancing, and he determined at once to abandon his ally, and come to terms with the English. After several weeks of negotiation with Colonel Smith, the President at Madras concluded that memorable Treaty of the 23rd of February, 1768, which was not less ignominious than that which had been made two years before. The Nizam had been twice defeated in the south; his dominions had been successfully invaded in the north, and his capital was threatened. The President was in a position to dictate his own terms, but he abandoned every advantage and voluntarily placed his government in the most humiliating position. Instead of insisting on the right to hold the Northern Sircars on the strength of the imperial firman, he agreed to pay tribute for them, and to postpone the possession of the Guntoor Sircar, till the death of Basalut Jung, the brother of the Nizam, to whom he had assigned it. Hyder Ali, moreover, who had been absolute master of Mysore for seven years, and was one of the greatest powers in the Deccan, was contemptuously styled Hyder Naik, and treated as a rebel and a usurper. It was also stipulated that the English should conquer the Carnatic Balaghaut from him, and hold it of the Nizam, subject to a tribute of seven lacs of rupees a-year, and, to the payment of *chout* to the Mahrattas, though they were no parties to the treaty. To crown their folly, the Madras Council again involved their masters in the labyrinth of Deccan politics, by agreeing to assist the Nizam with two battalions of sepoys, and six pieces of artillery, commanded by Europeans, whenever he should require them. The treaty was reprobated by their masters in Leadenhall Street, who indignantly remarked, "We cannot take a view of your con-

duct from the commencement of your negotiations for the sircars, without the strongest disapprobation, and when we see the opulent fortunes acquired by our servants since that period, it gives but too much weight to the public opinion, that this rage for negotiations, treaties, and alliances has private advantage for its object, more than the public good."

Hyder on the western coast, 1768.

Hyder's presence was required on the western coast, to make head against a formidable expedition fitted out from Bombay against his ports and his naval power. Mangalore and Onore were captured, and the Mysore fleet destroyed; but in the month of May Hyder descended the ghauts with an imposing force, and completely turned the scale. The British commander at Mangalore, after a wretched defence, re-embarked his troops, 1,500 in number, abandoning, not only all his stores, but 260 of his wounded soldiers, among whom were 80 Europeans. Hyder, after wreaking his vengeance on the districts which had manifested a spirit of rebellion during the brief ascendancy of the English power on the coast, returned, after the lapse of seven months, to prosecute the war in the eastern districts. But the great opportunity which his long absence afforded to the British army in the Carnatic had been completely sacrificed by the imbecility of the Madras authorities. As if the kingdom of Mysore were already in their possession, they had given it away to their Nabob, Mahomed Ali, and he accompanied the army to take charge of the districts as they were occupied. The provision of the commissariat, on which the movements of the army entirely depended, was, by a fatal error, committed to him, and Colonel Smith, the commandant was controlled and hampered by the deputation of two members of Council to regulate its movements. In spite, however, of these embarrassments, his exertions were attended with such success, that nearly one-half the dominions of Hyder, together with eight of his principal forts, and the most important mountain passes fell into his hands. Hyder, after a calm consideration of the progress and prospects of the campaign,

deemed it the part of prudence, in the month of September, to make overtures to Colonel Smith, offering to cede the Baramahal to the Company, and to pay down ten lacs of rupees. But the President and Council, inflated with recent success, made the most extravagant demands, and Hyder broke off the negotiation, and prepared for a mortal conflict.

The tide turns against the English, 1768.

The tide of success now turned against the English. Colonel Smith was constrained by the skilful manœuvres of Hyder to raise the siege of Bangalore, and it was with great difficulty that he was able to maintain his ground. The "field deputies" and the Nabob had remained at Colar, where a body of troops, equal to a division, was idly detained for their protection. They had managed between them to ruin the prospects of the campaign; the deputies, by their mischievous interference, the Nabob by his neglect in regard to the supply of provisions. On the appearance of a detachment sent by Hyder to terrify them, they hastened back to Madras, accompanied by Colonel Smith, who had been invited to return to the Presidency to make room for a more favourite commander, Colonel Wood. Thus ended all the bright visions of conquest, in which the Madras Council had been indulging during the year, and they were now obliged to limit their efforts to the defence of the Company's territories. On the 6th of December, Hyder descended into the Baramahal, and in the course of six weeks recovered all the districts which he had lost. It was now the turn of the Council to solicit an accommodation with him, but the terms they proposed did not suit him, and, after two months of fruitless negotiations, he resumed his ravages, marking his progress by the flames of villages, and the flight of the wretched inhabitants. Colonel Smith was placed at the head of the troops, and, by his rapid and skilful movements, so effectually baffled the plans of Hyder, that he determined to attempt, by one bold stroke, to bring the war to a termination.

Hyder dictates peace, 1769.

Sending all his guns, heavy baggage, and infantry back to Mysore by the pass of Ahtoor,

he placed himself at the head of 6,000 chosen horse, unencumbered by a single gun, and marched a hundred and thirty miles in three days and a half. Early on the morning of the 29th of March, his advanced guard appeared at St. Thomé, five miles from Madras, and a messenger soon after announced to the bewildered Council that he had come to conduct the negotiations in person. Colonel Smith had been rapidly following in his track, and would shortly have reached Madras. Hyder therefore required that an order should be immediately sent requiring him to halt, wherever he might be, on the arrival of the communication, which was despatched by one of his own dromedaries, and the Colonel, to his great chagrin, was obliged to remain inactive during this disgraceful negotiation. Hyder likewise required that Mr. Dupré, who had recently arrived at Madras, to succeed to the office of President, should be sent to his camp to adjust the conditions of peace. On the 4th of April a treaty was concluded on the very moderate terms of a mutual restitution of conquests. But it was at the same time stipulated that "in case either of the contracting parties should be attacked, they should from their respective countries mutually assist each other to drive the enemy out." Thus ended this ill-managed and unfortunate war by a treaty dictated by Hyder, under the walls of Madras.

War between Hyder and the Mahrattas, 1770–71.

Hyder, having concluded peace with the English, and obtained the promise of their support, began to set the Mahrattas at defiance, and not only withheld the payments due to them, but levied contributions on their districts. Madhoo Rao, the Peshwa, therefore, assembled a large army for the entire and final subjugation of Mysore. The forts in the eastern provinces were rapidly reduced, and the districts laid waste; and Hyder, knowing that his infantry, even with their high discipline, could ill stand the charge of the Mahratta horse, retired westward, and made overtures of peace, offering to pay *chout*, but refusing to surrender territory. Madhoo Rao

demanded a crore of rupees, and the negotiation was broken off. In the month of May, 1771, he was constrained, by the state of his health, to relinquish the command of the Mahratta army, which devolved on Trimbuck mama. Hyder, who dreaded the abilities of the Peshwa, but held the new commander in contempt, advanced with 35,000 men and forty guns, to the pass of Milgota, where he found himself entrapped into a false position. After sustaining an incessant cannonade for eight days, he was constrained, on the 5th of March, to break up his encampment, and commence his retreat to Seringapatam, a distance of about twenty-two miles. The army commenced its stealthy march by night, but it was revealed to the Mahrattas by accident or treachery, and they instantly made a vigorous assault on the retiring force. Hyder, who had been drinking to excess, and had not been able to relieve the effects by his usual period of sleep, was in a state of helpless inebriety. Tippoo was nowhere to be found, and when he presented himself to his father, the next morning, was overwhelmed with abuse, and beaten without mercy, on which he threw his turban on the ground, and swore by the prophet that he would not draw sword any more that day. The rout was complete, and the carnage prodigious, and the army was saved from extermination only by the avidity of the Mahrattas for plunder. Hyder, on recovering his senses in the morning, mounted a swift horse, and did not draw rein till he reached his capital. The Mahrattas laid close siege to it, but as they managed it with more than usual absurdity, Hyder had leisure to collect his scattered forces. During these troubles, he repeatedly importuned the President of Madras for that succour which the English government was bound, by the recent treaty, to afford him. He offered to pay twenty lacs of rupees for a brigade of troops, and to cede the Baramahal, Salem, and Ahtoor, and threatened to throw himself into the arms of the French if the assistance was withheld. The President considered it of vital importance to the honour and interests of

the Company to support Hyder. But he was paralysed by the presence and the interference of Sir John Lindsay, whom the ministry of the day had, by an act of incredible folly, sent out as the King's representative to the court of Mahomed Ali, and that prince was thus relieved from the salutary control of the Madras government. It was two years before this mischievous mission was recalled, during which time the Nabob was enabled to indulge his extravagant propensities with perfect impunity, to the great delight and benefit of his European creditors. He insisted on an alliance with the Mahrattas, which was supported by Sir John Lindsay, and the Madras Council, not daring to act in opposition to one who was clothed with the royal authority, were constrained to abandon Hyder to his fate. The desolation of his districts, and the exhaustion of his resources, at length compelled him to sue for peace to the Mahrattas, which was not granted without the immediate payment of thirty-six lacs of rupees, besides the stipulation of fourteen lacs of rupees of annual tribute, and the cession of territory, which reduced the kingdom of Mysore to narrower limits than it comprised at the beginning of the century. Nothing exhibits the incapacity of the Madras authorities during the war with Hyder so conspicuously as the contrast between the disgrace which he inflicted on them and the humiliation he sustained from the Mahrattas two years later. The breach of faith to which he attributed his misfortunes he never forgot or forgave, and it resulted in establishing Mahratta garrisons on the northern frontier of the Carnatic.

Mahratta expedition to Hindostan, 1769.

The incursions of the Mahrattas into Hindostan were for a time checked by the battle of Paniput, and the discord of their chiefs; but in 1769, the Peshwa equipped a grand expedition to renew their ravages, and recover their authority. It was accompanied by a large body of horse belonging to Mahdajee Sindia, the illegitimate son of Ranojee, the founder of the house; and also by Tokajee Holkar, who, though he bore the patronymic of the great chief by whom the dynasty was

established, was not of his family, but was placed at the head of the army by Aylah-bye, the princess who, for thirty years, managed the state with consummate ability. The army, consisting of 300,000 horse and foot, and commanded by Visajee, the Peshwa's general, burst like a flood on Rajpootana, and levied contributions to the extent of ten lacs of rupees. The Jauts, the next victims, were constrained to make a composition for sixty-five lacs, of which ten were paid down at once. During these transactions, the Mahratta chiefs invited the emperor to return to Delhi under their protection. That prince had continued to reside at Allahabad, after the arrangement concluded by Clive in 1765, in the tranquil enjoyment of the stipend allotted to him. The government of Delhi and of the districts still attached to the crown, were administered for seven years with extraordinary talent and success, by Nujeeb-ood-dowlah, the Rohilla chief, whom Mr. Verelst, the governor of Bengal, justly designated "a great and good man," and on his death in October, 1770, by his son Zabita Khan. The emperor was naturally desirous of proceeding to Delhi, and mounting the throne of his ancestors. The Mahrattas were equally desirous of becoming the instrument of seating him on it, and turning the influence of his name to account The Council in Calcutta, however, strongly dissuaded him from this measure, feeling confident that it would involve the affairs of Hindostan in confusion, and eventually prove detrimental to his own interests. But the emperor turned a deaf ear to their remonstrances, and threw himself on the protection of the Mahrattas, by whom he was conducted to Delhi, and installed on the 25th of December, 1771.

Early in 1772, they entered Rohilcund, reduced the Dooab, and laid waste the whole province. The family of Zabita Khan was made prisoners, and the great wealth accumulated by him and his father they appropriated to their own use. The Rohilla chiefs, in their extremity, were driven to solicit the aid of the Vizier, though they were fully aware that the

possession of their territories was the object which lay nearest to his heart. There are few transactions in the history of the times more complicated and obscure than the negotiations which ensued between the Rohillas, the Vizier, and the Mahrattas. As some approach to the truth, it may be stated that the Mahrattas agreed to retire for a sum of forty lacs of rupees, but insisted on the guarantee of the Vizier; that the Vizier required Hafiz Ruhmut, the chief of the Rohillas, to become responsible for the amount, and Hafiz requested the other chiefs to contribute their quota. These engagements appear to have been completed in June, 1772, and Hafiz paid the first instalment of five lacs to the Vizier, who, however, never paid the Mahrattas a cowrie, while the chiefs pleaded poverty for withholding their shares. As soon as the rains set in, the Mahrattas recrossed the Ganges for the season. Meanwhile, their arrogance and rapacity had become intolerable to the poor emperor, who determined to incur every risk to rid himself of them. His general, Nujeef Khan, a man of superior talent, and descended from the Sophi kings of Persia, led the imperial troops against them, but was totally defeated. It was a twelvemonth to a day after the emperor had entered his capital on the shoulders of the Mahrattas, that he was constrained to open its gates to their hostile battalions, and submit to all their demands. Among other exactions, they required him to cede the two districts of Corah and Allahabad, and they made preparations to occupy them. But the government of Calcutta wisely determined not to sanction the surrender of them to the Mahrattas, and thus introduce these unscrupulous marauders into the heart of the Gangetic provinces.

The Mahrattas retire to their own country, 1773.

At the close of the monsoon of 1772, the Mahrattas resolved on the plunder of Oude, and offered Hafiz Ruhmut and the other Rohilla chiefs to make over to them the Vizier's bond for forty lacs of rupees, and to share the territory which might be conquered with them, if they would grant a passage through

their country, and make common cause in the expedition. The Vizier, in an agony of terror, offered, when the Mahrattas retired, to restore the bond Hafiz had given him. But the Rohilla chief needed no such inducement to refrain from an alliance with those whom he regarded as "the savage and infidel Mahrattas," and resolved to co-operate with the Vizier in opposing them. That helpless prince, at the same time, implored the aid of the Council in Calcutta, who directed a brigade of troops to advance for the protection of the country. Several detachments of Mahratta horse laid waste a portion of Rohilcund, but the main body was held in check by the combined forces of the Rohillas, the Vizier, and Sir Richard Barker. Meanwhile, the young Peshwa, having planned an expedition to the south, required the presence of the troops employed in Hindostan, and the Mahratta general suddenly broke up his encampment in the month of May, and retired across the Nerbudda, laden with the booty of three campaigns. But, even before the disappearance of the Mahrattas, and while the Rohilla chiefs were cordially engaged in supporting the cause of the Vizier, that prince was plotting their expulsion from Rohilcund, and the appropriation of their estates. The sequel of these transactions, belongs to the history of Hastings's administration, and we turn therefore to the progress of Indian affairs in England.

The strange anomaly of the Company's government.

The British Government in India, at this period was a strange and unprecedented anomaly. The agents of a London trading Company had in a few years acquired the sovereignty of provinces twice the size of England, and were employed in ruling a population twice as numerous as the subjects of their own king. The directors of a counting-house in London were making peace and war, setting up thrones and pulling them down, and disposing of princely revenues. Their servants abroad, with salaries of only three or four hundred pounds a year, were moreover, coming home, year after year, with colossal fortunes, made in four or five years, and setting up

establishments which cast the ancient nobility of the country into the shade. Lord Clive was spending £40,000 a-year, and one retired member of Council was known to keep a dozen chariots. The time had not arrived for millionaire manufacturers and contractors, and the progress of national industry had not as yet trebled the value of landed estates. The servants of the Company presented to the envy of the country the only instances of sudden and enormous wealth. At the same time it was reported that the fortunes of the Indian Nabobs, as they were styled, had been acquired by the deposal of princes, the oppression of their subjects, and the most nefarious peculation, and a general feeling of indignation began to pervade the nation.

Vicious constitution of the Company, 1770.

The machinery of the Home Government of India had been constructed for the management of trade, and was utterly unsuited to the administration of government. The Directors were elected for only one year, and half their time was, therefore, devoted to the arrangements necessary for their re-election. The grand principle that the Directors should appoint men to the service, and that the government in India should appoint them to office, had not then been discovered. The offices in India, which afforded the means of amassing invidious wealth, were considered to be at the disposal of the Directors in London, and it was chiefly to the discreet use of this patronage, that they looked for the support of the Proprietors, and the retention of their office. The possession of £500 of stock gave one vote, and there was no limitation to the number of votes which might be held by a single individual. Stock was, therefore purchased not simply for investment, but for power and pelf. Those who returned from India with fortunes, found it useful to invest their property in India Stock, and thus acquire influence at the India House. In 1771, the ship's husbands, a wealthy and powerful body, bought £150,000 of stock, to create 300 votes. Lord Shelburne laid out £100,000 for 200 votes, to secure the return of the factious Sulivan. The India House

thus became a scene of jobbery and corruption, such as had never, perhaps, been seen in England before, and was scarcely paralleled by the depravity which prevailed among their servants abroad. The great marvel is, how the British power in India survived the crime and confusion which, with some brilliant exceptions, characterised the period of fifteen years, between the battle of Plassy, and the new organisation of 1773.

Parliamentary interference, 1771.

In these circumstances there was a general demand for Parliamentary enquiry. It was seventy years since the House of Commons had interfered in the affairs of the Company; it was then only a commercial interest; it was now a political power. The first movement of the Minister was to claim for the Crown the sovereignty of the territories acquired by its subjects in India. The Company resisted the demand, and maintained that the possessions which had been obtained by their arms belonged exclusively to them. The dispute was for a time compromised by conceding the territorial revenues to them for five years, on the payment of forty lacs a year to the nation. It was likewise proposed to remedy the disorders in India by sending out three of the most eminent of the retired servants of the Company with unlimited powers, but the vessel in which they embarked foundered at sea.

Financial difficulties, and the Regulating Act, 1773.

Meanwhile, the financial difficulties of the Company brought on a crisis. All the golden dreams which the acquisition of the three soobahs had created, were rudely dissipated. Fraudulent bills in India for contracts, cantonments, and fortifications, and extravagant charges for travelling, diet, and parade, had exhausted the surplus revenue, and created a deficit. With a revenue of two millions and a half a year, there was a debt of a million and a quarter in London, and of more than a million in Calcutta. The Court of Proprietors, as if they were anxious to compete with the profligacy of their servants in India, chose this period of impending bankruptcy, to vote themselves a dividend of twelve and a half per cent. The Court of

Directors borrowed repeatedly of the Bank of England, until the Bank would lend no more. They then applied to the minister, Lord North, for a loan of a million from the public, to prevent closing the doors of the India House, and he coolly referred them to Parliament, which was convened earlier than usual, to take their affairs into consideration. A Select Committee was appointed in 1772 to collect evidence, when the whole system of violence and iniquity, by which the British name had been tarnished in India, and individuals enriched, was laid bare to the nation. Parliament determined at once to take the regulation of Indian affairs into its own hands. The Directors protested against this violation of their chartered rights, as they termed the intervention of Parliament; but they had incurred universal odium and contempt, and the Minister was enabled to carry his measures with a high hand. The immediate necessities of the Company were relieved by the loan of a million sterling from the exchequer. The vicious constitution of the India House was corrected; the qualification for a single vote was raised from £500 to £1,000, and twelve hundred proprietors were thus disfranchised at one stroke; no individual was to enjoy more than four votes, whatever amount of stock he might hold; and six Directors only were to go out annually, which extended the tenure of office to four years. The Governor of Bengal was appointed Governor-General, on a salary of £25,000 a year, with four counsellors at £10,000, and they were in the first instance nominated by Parliament. At the same time a Crown Court was established in Calcutta, to administer English law on the model of the Courts in Westminster, with a Chief Justice at £8,000, and three Puisne Judges, at £6,000 a-year. The Act which embodied these provisions is known as the Regulating Act. Its enactments regarding the home government were highly judicious and beneficial; but those which referred to the government in India, concocted without knowledge or experience, only seemed to increase the complication of affairs, and shook the power of Britain in the East to its foundation.

CHAPTER XIII.

HASTINGS'S ADMINISTRATION AND THE MAHRATTA WAR, 1772—1782.

WARREN HASTINGS was appointed the first Governor-General under the new Act,—a man endowed by nature with the greatest talent for government, and whose renown has not been eclipsed by the most illustrious of his successors. He landed in Calcutta in January, 1750, at the age of eighteen, and was employed for six years in the duties of appraising silk and muslins, and copying invoices. The political exigencies which arose out of the battle of Plassy suddenly developed his administrative abilities, which Clive was the first to discover and foster. He was selected to represent the Company at the Moorshedabad durbar, which, at the time, was one of the most arduous and delicate posts in the service. Three years after, he came by rotation to the Council board in Calcutta, and strenuously supported Mr. Vansittart in his opposition to those profligate measures which issued in the war with Meer Cassim. In the most venal period of the Bengal administration, he was distinguished by high principle and unsullied probity, and returned to England on furlough in graceful poverty, while his colleagues were retiring from the service with ambitious fortunes. By this step he forfeited his position in the service, according to the rules then in force, and he long solicited to be restored to it, but without success. By a happy accident, however, he was at length required to give evidence before a committee of the House of Commons, when the clearness of his statements, and the breadth of his views, excited the admiration both of the Court of Directors and the Ministry, and he was at once appointed second in Council at Madras.

State of Bengal, 1765-1772. The double government established by Clive after the acquisition of the Dewanny, though re-

garded at first as a master-piece of policy, soon proved to be the curse of Bengal. It combined all the vices of a native government with all the confusion and mischief inseparable from foreign interference. The management of the revenue, which included the entire administration, was in the hands of native agents, who were subject to the supervision of the British resident at Moorshedabad, but his control was merely nominal. There was no European functionary in Bengal conversant with revenue details, and the zemindars were at liberty to make their own terms with the ryots on the one hand, and with the treasury on the other; in every case it was the interests of the state which suffered. Individuals grew rich, while the government was sinking in debt. To check these abuses, supervisors or collectors were appointed in 1769 to look after the revenue; but they were both ignorant and rapacious, and became mere tools in the hands of their banians, or native factors. The public money they collected was employed, for the most part, in supporting the monopolies which they and their native banians had established in the traffic of the district, and the value of their appointments consequently ranged from one to three lacs of rupees a year. The Court of Directors determined, therefore, "to stand forth as Duan, and to take on themselves the entire care and management of the revenues through the agency of their own servants." This decision involved a complete revolution in the whole system of administration, civil, criminal, and fiscal, among twenty-five millions of people, and a more momentous change than any which had taken place since the days of Akbar and Toder Mull. Hastings was considered the only man in the Company's service capable of inaugurating this new policy, and he was accordingly elevated to the chair in Bengal, and took charge of the government on the 13th April, 1772.

Warren Hastings, President of Bengal, 1772. Great changes.

Upon this arduous task he entered with great zeal and energy. It was resolved to farm out the lands for five years, and the President and four

members of the Council proceeded through the districts to conduct the settlements. The offers made by the zemindars were, however, deemed unsatisfactory, and it was determined to put the lands up to competition, after abolishing some of the most oppressive of the imposts with which the land had latterly been saddled. Where the old zemindars were displaced by higher bidders, an allowance was granted for their support out of the rents. The Khalsa, or exchequer, was removed from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, to which the entire administration of the country, in every branch, was transferred, and which became, from this date, the capital of Bengal. The charge of civil and criminal justice in each district was entrusted to European officers, and two courts of appeal were established at the seat of government. Without the aid of an English lawyer, Hastings drew up a short and simple code of regulations for the new courts, which exhibited in a remarkable degree the versatility of his talents. All these organic changes in the system of government were completed in six months.

The first Rohilla war, 1773. The Mahrattas had no sooner crossed the Ganges on their return home, than the Vizier began to importune Hastings to assist him in seizing the province of Rohilcund, and offered a donation of forty lacs of rupees, and the payment of two lacs a month for the services of the English force. The Court of Directors, overwhelmed with debt and disgrace, were imploring the Council in Calcutta for remittances, and urging a reduction of the military expenditure, which was devouring the resources of the country. The treasury in Calcutta was empty, but the offer of the Vizier seemed to be exactly adapted to meet the exigency. Mr. Hastings was assured that the Rohillas had offered to pay the Vizier the sum of forty lacs of rupees if he would deliver them from the Mahrattas; that they had been saved from destruction by the presence of the Vizier's troops and those of his English ally, and, that now the danger was passed, they refused to pay anything. With this garbled

statement of the case, Hastings satisfied his conscience, and concluded that their ingratitude deserved punishment, and that, on the plan suggested by the Vizier, an act of just retribution might be made the means of replenishing the Company's coffers. The Vizier wanted territory, and Hastings wanted money. "Such," he wrote, "was my idea of the Company's distress in England and India, that I should have been glad of any occasion of employing these forces, which saves so much of their pay and expenses." Hastings accordingly proceeded to Benares in August, 1773, and concluded a treaty with the Vizier on the terms proposed by him. The districts of Corah and Allahabad were considered to have lapsed to the Company, when the emperor, to whom Clive had given them, was compelled to make them over to the Mahrattas. The defence of these districts—such was the extravagance and embezzlement in the military department—had cost the treasury two crores of rupees in five years, and Hastings wisely determined to "free the Company from this intolerable burden," and transferred them to the Vizier who offered an additional payment of fifty lacs of rupees for them. The subsidy of twenty-six lacs of rupees a-year from the revenues of the three soobahs, which had been settled on the emperor, was suspended during the great famine which depopulated and pauperised Bengal, and, as he had now ceased to be a free agent, it was finally abolished.

Destruction of the Rohillas, 23rd April, 1774.

The Vizier having secured the aid of an English force, demanded of Hafiz Ruhmut the payment of the balance of his bond, thirty-five lacs of rupees. Hafiz offered to make good whatever sum the Vizier had actually paid the Mahrattas for their forbearance, but as he knew that he had never paid them anything, the offer was treated with contempt. Hafiz, seeing the storm ready to burst upon his head, proposed a compromise, but the Vizier raised his demand to two hundred lacs of rupees, and the Rohillas adopted the resolution of defending their independence to the last extremity. Colonel Champion, the

British commander, advanced into Rohilcund, accompanied by the Vizier's army, and the campaign was decided in a single engagement, on the 23rd of April, 1774. Hafiz brought 40,000 Rohillas into action, and exhibited a degree of military skill and courage, which excited the admiration of his European opponents. But nothing could withstand the steady charge of British bayonets, and after two hours of severe conflict, and the slaughter of more than 2,000 Rohillas—among whom was the brave Hafiz and his son—they were obliged to fly. The dastardly Vizier remained with his troops beyond the reach of fire, till the Rohillas were defeated, when he let them loose to plunder the camp. "We have the honour of the day," exclaimed the indignant Champion, "and these banditti the profit."

Reflections on this transaction.

This transaction is one of the few stains on the bright and honourable career of Hastings. It has been urged in extenuation of it that the Rohillas were mere usurpers, with no right to the province but that of the sword. But so were nine-tenths of the princes of India at the time. The usurpation of Holkar, and Sindia, and Hyder Ali, and even of the Peshwa, and the Nizam, was quite as modern as that of the Rohillas, and the Nabob vizier himself was only the grandson of the Khorasan merchant, who had alienated Oude from the crown of Delhi. That the Rohillas formed a powerful confederacy on the borders of Oude, which, in the unsettled state of India, might have joined the Mahrattas and endangered the safety of a province which the Company was bound, no less by policy than by treaty to defend, cannot be controverted. The extinction of this dangerous power was a wise and politic measure, so far as anything that is intrinsically unjust can be wise and politic. Such transactions were, moreover, of constant occurrence in India; no native prince saw anything unusual or unjust in it, and even the Rohillas themselves considered it only as one of the chances of war to which they, in common with all states, were constantly liable. But it was inconsistent with that higher standard of morals by which Hastings's conduct was judged

in England, and it has been invariably condemned, even by those who admire his genius. The conduct of the Vizier towards the conquered, in spite of Hastings's remonstrances and threats, was infamous; but the assertion that 500,000 husbandmen were driven across the Ganges, and that the country was reduced to a bare and uninhabitable waste, was an Oriental exaggeration. The "extermination," which was so loudly denounced by the enemies of Hastings, had reference only to the power of the Afghans, who did not exceed 20,000 in number. The Hindoo natives of the soil, numbering more than a million, experienced no other distress than that which follows every change of masters in India.

Arrival of the judges and members of Council, 1774.

Hastings had succeeded in reorganising the administration, and extinguishing the Indian debt. He had overcome all the difficulties which beset his position on his arrival; but he was now called to encounter the more serious dangers which arose out of the provision made by the wisdom of Parliament for the better government of India. The judges of the Supreme Court and the new members of Council arrived from England, and landed at Chandpal ghaut on the 19th of October, 1774, with the firm conviction that the government was a compound of tyranny and corruption, which it was their mission to purify. As the judges stepped on shore, one of them, observing the bare legs and feet of the natives who crowded to the sight, said to his colleague, "Our court, brother, certainly was not established before it was needed. I trust we shall not have been six months in the country before these victims of oppression are comfortably provided with shoes and stockings." Of the counsellors, Colonel Monson had served on the coast, General Clavering was the favourite of the King and the Ministry, and Mr. Francis, the undoubted author of Junius's letters, had been an assistant in the War Office, and was distinguished for his talents and his malignity. They had all imbibed the most violent prejudices against Mr. Hastings, and regarded him as a monster of iniquity, whom it was the part of virtue

to censure and oppose. The spirit in which they entered on their duties may be inferred from the fact that their first complaint was that he had received them with a salute of only seventeen guns, when they expected nineteen. The old government was abolished, and the new government installed by proclamation on the 20th of October. Mr. Francis and his two colleagues, commenced their opposition on the first meeting of Council, and, as they formed a majority, Hastings found that the government of India had at once passed out of his hands, and was transferred to men utterly ignorant of the feelings, the habits, and the weaknesses of the natives, and bent on thwarting and degrading him.

The affairs of Oude, 1775.

The first exercise of their authority had reference to the affairs of Oude. Nine months previously, Hastings had placed Mr. Middleton as the representative of the Company at the court of the Vizier. They demanded the production of every letter which had ever passed between them, even in the confidence of private friendship. Hastings refused this preposterous request, but offered to furnish them with an extract of every paragraph which had the smallest bearing on public business. The triumvirate protested against this reservation, and immediately superseded Mr. Middleton, and appointed Mr. Bristow, one of their own friends to the durbar, and thus proclaimed the extinction of Hastings's authority to all the princes of India. They reprobated the treaty of Benares made with the Vizier, as well as the Rohilla war, which was to be expected; but they went further, and issued orders to the officer commanding the brigade in Rohilcund to withdraw it immediately from the province, and to demand payment, within fourteen days, of all arrears due from the Vizier. Hastings warned them of the danger of these precipitate measures, which compromised equally the safety of Oude and the honour of the British name, but they turned a deaf ear to every remonstrance. During these transactions, the Vizier died, and his successor was informed by Mr. Francis and his col-

leagues that all the engagements between the two states were cancelled by this event, except those which referred to the payment of arrears; and that whatever assistance he might receive from British troops must be based on a new arrangement. A treaty was accordingly concluded under the auspices of Mr. Francis, and although he had condemned Hastings in no measured terms "for letting out British troops for hire to the Vizier," the services of the brigade were continued to him; but the amount of the hire was augmented by half a lac of rupees a month. The Vizier was likewise peremptorily commanded to cede to the Company, the zemindary of Benares, which yielded twenty-two lacs of rupees a year, and this was the only addition made to the British territory during the long period of Hastings's administration.

The treasure and the begums, 1775.

The deceased Vizier had amassed treasure to the extent of two crores of rupees, and deposited it in vaults in the zenana. His widow and his mother, known in history as "the begums," claimed the whole of this property on his death, under a will which they affirmed had been made in their favour. The will was never produced, and probably never existed; at all events it could not supersede the right of the state to these public funds, and, least of all, in favour of females. The late Vizier was under heavy obligations to the Company at the time of his death, and his troops, a hundred thousand in number, were twelve months in arrear. The funds were therefore primarily chargeable with these liabilities, but Mr. Bristow, the resident, lent himself to the views of the begums, and constrained the Vizier to affix his seal to a deed, under the guarantee of the government in Calcutta, which assigned three-fourths of this state property to them. Mr. Francis and his colleagues recorded their approval of this alienation, in spite of an earnest protest from Hastings and Mr. Barwell, who invariably supported him. The Vizier thus ascended the throne with an empty treasury; the troops

mutinied for their pay, and according to the report of the British resident, 20,000 of them were slaughtered, and nothing but the presence of the English brigade saved the country from a revolution.

Accusations against Hastings, 1775.

The discord in the Council soon began to tell upon the government. The triumvirate had diligently studied the public records to discover grounds for criminating Hastings. They raked up information from the kennels of Calcutta, and offered every encouragement to the miscreants in the provinces to come forward and defame him. As soon as it was known that his authority was extinct, and that any accusation against him would be welcome to those who now enjoyed the power of the state, a host of informers hastened to Calcutta and crowded their anti-chambers. Charges were manufactured with great activity. The widow of Teluk Chand, the zemindar of Burdwan—a zemindary then scarcely a century old—brought a charge against Mr. Graham, whom Hastings had appointed guardian of the person and property of his minor son, of having embezzled more than three lacs of rupees in five months, of which Hastings was accused of having received fifteen thousand. The native fouzdar of Hooghly had continued to receive an allowance of seventy-two thousand rupees a year, after the administration of the Company had commenced, and some native who coveted the place, charged Hastings with having appropriated to his own use one half this sum. No evidence was produced of the charge, which was in itself preposterous, but Mr. Francis and his two colleagues placed it on record "that there appeared to be no species of peculation from which the Honourable Governor-General has thought it reasonable to abstain, and that they had now obtained a clear light on his conduct, and the means by which he had amassed a fortune of forty lacs of rupees in two years and a half."

Charge of Nundu koomar, 1775.

A more important charge was preferred by Nundu koomar. This man, who had been re-

peatedly denounced by the Court of Directors for his perfidy, and whose career had been marked by the most nefarious intrigues and treachery, offered to impeach Hastings, and was immediately taken into the alliance of the three counsellors. Under their auspices, he held his durbar in state in Calcutta, and issued his mandates to the zemindars throughout the country. At length, he came forward with a charge against Hastings of having received a bribe of three lacs and a half of rupees on the appointment of Munee Begum, the widow of Meer Jaffier, and his own son, Raja Gooroodass, to the management of the Nabob's household at Moorshedabad, and likewise of having connived at the embezzlements of Mahomed Reza khan for a douceur of ten lacs. Mr. Francis and his colleagues proposed that Nundu koomar should be called before the Council board to substantiate the charge. Hastings, as might have been expected, opposed this proceeding with great indignation. "I know," he said, "what belongs to the dignity and character of the first member of this administration, and I will not sit at this board in the character of a criminal." It does not appear that on this or any other occasion, Hastings endeavoured to stifle enquiry, or objected to his opponents forming a committee of investigation, and reporting their proceedings to their masters at home, or referring the questions at issue to the arbitriment of the Supreme Court; but he felt that the government would be degraded in the eyes of the native community, if the dregs of society were introduced into the Council chamber to criminate the President at the investigation of Nundu koomar, and he dissolved the meeting and left the chamber. The majority immediately placed General Clavering in the chair, and called in Nundu koomar who dilated on the venality of Hastings, and moreover, produced a letter purporting to be written by Munee begum herself, which admitted the payment of two lacs and a half of rupees to the Governor-General, on which Mr. Francis and his friends resolved with one consent, that Hastings had clandestinely and illegally received three lacs and forty

thousand rupees, and that measures should be taken to compel him to repay it into the public treasury. The signature to the letter was pronounced on the most impartial examination to be spurious, but the seal appeared to be genuine. The begum herself denied all knowledge of the letter, and the mystery of the seal was not discovered till after the death of Nundu koomar, when fac-similes of the seals of all the most eminent personages in Bengal were found in his cabinet.

Execution of Nundu koomar, 1775.

Hastings, in self-defence, now brought an action in the Supreme Court against Nundu koomar and others for a conspiracy to induce one Kumal-ood-deen, a large revenue farmer, to criminate him. The judges admitted the charge and held Nundu koomar to bail, and Mr. Francis and his two associates immediately paid him a complimentary visit at his own residence. Eight weeks after the commencement of this action, one Mohun Prisad, a native merchant, renewed an action for forgery against Nundu koomar, which had been originally instituted in the local court, when Nundu koomar was arrested, but released, through the intervention of Hastings. On the establishment of the Supreme Court, this suit, along with others, was transferred to its jurisdiction. The forgery was established on the clearest evidence; the jury found him guilty, and the judges ordered him to be hung. It was the first instance of the execution of a brahmin, since the English became lords of the country, and it created a profound sensation in the native community. Thousands of Hindoos surrounded the scaffold, unwilling to believe their own eyes, and when the deed was completed, rushed down to the sacred stream to wash out the pollution.

Reflections on this transaction.

This transaction was long considered the most atrocious crime of Hastings's administration. It was asserted in high quarters that Nundu koomar had been judicially murdered by him through the agency of Sir Elijah Impey, the chief justice. But time has dispelled

the clouds of prejudice. For this foul imputation there was no other ground than the coincidence of this trial, in point of time, with the accusations brought by Nundu koomar against Hastings. There never was the slightest evidence that Hastings had ever prompted, or even encouraged the action. The capital sentence, however conformable to the barbarous laws of England at the time, was, on every consideration, most unjust. The offence was venial by the laws of the country, and the English code, which made it capital, was not introduced till several years after it had been committed. Mr. Francis and his colleagues protested against the whole proceeding, but the judges indignantly refused to submit to any dictation in the exercise of their judicial functions. But after the sentence had been passed, it was still within the power of the majority of the Council who exercised the whole authority of the government, to suspend the execution of it, pending a reference to England; they did not, however, chose to interfere, and the odium of this transaction must be divided between them and the judges. Nundu koomar, who began life a poor man, left a fortune of a crore of rupees.

The Court of Directors condemn Hastings, 1775.

Towards the close of 1775, the decision of the Court of Directors on the matters in dispute between Mr. Francis and Hastings, was received in Calcutta. They condemned the measures of the Governor-General in strong language, but they neither ordered the restitution of Rohilcund to the Rohillas, nor the return of the forty lacs which had enriched their treasury, to the Vizier. But they recommended concord and unanimity to the Council, and the advice was received with a shout of derision by both parties. The adverse resolutions of the Directors were, however, overruled by the Proprietors, who held Hastings in the highest estimation; and the dissensions abroad, aggravated by the discord at home, brought the British interests in India to the verge of destruction, from which they were rescued only by the firmness and resolution of the Governor-General. In September, 1776, his authority in the government was re-

stored by the death of Colonel Monson, which gave him the casting vote in an equally-balanced Council. But in the preceding year, worried by the opposition and insults of his opponents, he had informed his agent in England, Colonel Macleane, that it was his intention to resign his appointment, if he found that his measures were not approved of at home. But within two months of this communication, he recovered his spirits, revoked his resignation, and, at the same time, informed the Minister, Lord North, that he would remain at his post till he was recalled by the same authority,—that of Parliament,—which had placed him at the head of the government. But Colonel Macleane, finding the current against Hastings as strong in Leadenhall Street as it was in Downing Street, took upon himself to announce to the Court of Directors that he was authorised, on certain conditions, to tender his patron's resignation. After several months of violent intrigue, which it is not necessary to detail, the Directors came to the resolution that Mr. Hastings had positively resigned his office, though his latest as well as his earliest letters were before them, and appointed Mr. Wheler to the vacant seat in Council.

Clavering's violent proceedings and death, 1777.

When intelligence of this resolution reached Calcutta, General Clavering, whom Lord North had encouraged in his opposition to Hastings, by the Order of the Bath, attempted to seize the government, as being the senior member of Council, obtained possession of the Council Chamber, and took the oaths as Governor-General. He likewise demanded the keys of the Treasury and of the fort from Hastings, and wrote to the commandant to obey no orders but those which emanated from him. Hastings, who did not admit the fact of his resignation, had anticipated Sir John Clavering by securing the gates of Fort William, and his messengers found them closed against him. The dispute was rapidly tending to a collision, which must have proved in the highest degree disastrous to the interests of the Company, when Hastings prudently

averted it by referring the question to the Judges of the Supreme Court. After a careful investigation of all the documents connected with this transaction, they came to the decision, that any assumption of authority by Sir John Clavering would be illegal, and the storm blew over. He did not survive the chagrin of this disappointment many months. Mr. Wheler, who had taken his seat in Council, though professing neutrality, generally sided with Francis, but the casting vote of the Governor-General overruled all opposition. At the beginning of 1780, Mr. Barwell was anxious to return to his native land with the colossal fortune he had accumulated, but he hesitated to embark and leave his friend Hastings in a minority. Mr. Francis, unwilling to stand in the way of Mr. Barwell's retirement, came to an understanding with Hastings not to take advantage of it, and Mr. Barwell embarked for England. But the discord was speedily renewed; the antagonists could not agree on the nature or extent of the neutrality. Hastings charged Francis with having duped him, and the dispute was settled, according to the barbarous custom of the times, by a hostile meeting, in which Mr. Francis was wounded. At the close of the year he returned to England.

New settlement of the land revenue, 1777.

The settlement of the land revenue, which had been made for five years, expired in 1777, when it was found that the country had been grievously rack-rented. Many of the zemindars, ambitious of retaining their position in the country, had made offers which they soon found themselves unable to support. The speculators, who had in many cases outbid and dislodged the old landholders, had no object but to enrich themselves by oppressive exactions, and throw up their engagements as soon as the ryots were exhausted. The government, new to their duties, had committed serious errors. To the usual imperfection of all new institutions, was in this instance added an entire ignorance of the quality and value of the lands and even of the language of those who held them. The whole system collapsed; the country was impoverished, and, what with remissions and

irrecoverable balances, the Company lost little short of two crores and a half of rupees in five years. Before the expiration of the old settlement, Hastings had wisely appointed a commission of inquiry to travel through the country and collect data for a new arrangement. The Court of Directors denounced the commission as a flagrant job, and charged Hastings with "the meanest and most corrupt motives in the selection of the members." They expressed their surprise that any such inquiry should be found necessary, after they had held the Dewanny for ten years. But they seemed to forget that their own time had been occupied in cabal and intrigue at home, to the neglect of the duties of administration, and that their ill-paid revenue officers in India had been too closely occupied in making fortunes by private trade to have any leisure to attend to the interests of the state. By order of the Directors, the settlement was therefore made for one year only.

Death of Madhoo and Narayun Rao Peshwas, 1772-73.

To resume the thread of Mahratta affairs. The young Peshwa, Madhoo Rao, little inferior to any of his race in the cabinet or in the field, died of consumption, on the 18th of November, 1772. At the period of his death, the nominal revenue of the Mahratta empire in Hindostan and in the Deccan, was ten crores of rupees, but the amount actually realized did not greatly exceed seven crores, of which the sum at the absolute disposal of the Peshwa was only three crores, the remainder of it belonged to the Guickwar, Bhonslay, Holkar, Sindia, and minor chieftains. The Peshwa's own army consisted of 50,000 horse, besides infantry and artillery, but the entire army he was able to assemble under the national standard was not less than 100,000 splendid cavalry, and a proportionate strength of foot and artillery, not including the Pindarrees, or hereditary freebooters of the country. It was a fortunate circumstance for India that this formidable force, animated by the instinct of plunder, and stimulated by the remembrance of past successes, was not under the control

of a single leader, but divided by allegiance to five princes, each one of whom had his own individual interests to promote. Madhoo Rao was succeeded by his younger brother, Narayun Rao, who immediately proceeded to Satara, and was invested with the office of Peshwa. Though not twenty, he was ambitious of military glory, and determined on an expedition to the Carnatic, which induced him to recal the Mahratta army from Rohilcund. But, after a reign of nine months, he was assassinated by the orders, or by the connivance of his uncle, Roghoonath Rao, or Raghoba. Raghoba had long been distinguished as a brave soldier, and, in 1759 had led a body of 50,000 Mahratta horse from the banks of the Nerbudda to the banks of the Indus. But he was an inveterate intriguer, and had been repeatedly confined by Madhoo Rao for his turbulence and treason. He was, moreover, always imprudent, and rarely fortunate.

Raghoba Peshwa, succeeded by Madhoo Rao, 1773.

Raghoba took possession of the vacant office, and after having obtained investiture from Satara, plunged into hostilities with the Nizam, whom he pursued with such vigour as to oblige him to purchase peace by the sacrifice of territory valued at twenty lacs a year. With his usual folly, Raghoba restored the lands to the Nizam, instead of judiciously distributing them among his military chiefs, and thus increasing the strength of their loyalty. He then marched against Hyder, but his pecuniary difficulties obliged him to be content with a promise of six lacs of rupees, and the acknowledgment of his title as Peshwa. From this southern expedition he was recalled by a formidable confederacy of the ministers at Poona, who were hostile to him, and had, moreover, received intimation that the young widow of the late Peshwa was pregnant. They conveyed her, on the 30th of January, to the fort of Poorunder, taking the precaution of sending with her a number of females in the same condition, to provide against the chance of her giving birth to a daughter. They then proceeded to form a Regency composed of Succaram Bappoo, an

old and astute statesman, Nana Furnuvese, and the military commandant, and at once assumed all the functions of government. Raghoba, on the news of this revolution, hastened to meet his opponents, accompanied by Morari Rao, one of the greatest soldiers of the age, who had measured swords with Lawrence and Coote in the Carnatic, and on the 4th of March inflicted a signal defeat on the army of the Regency. This success replenished his military chest, and brought crowds to his standard; fortune seemed to declare in his favour, when, having conceived suspicions of the fidelity of his own generals, he threw away his chance of power by turning off to Boorhanpore, instead of marching at once on Poona, which its terrified inhabitants had begun to desert. The widow was delivered of a son on the 18th of April, 1774, who was installed as Peshwa when only ten days old, under the title of Madhoo Rao the Second.

Proceedings of Raghoba, 1774. After remaining a short time at Boorhanpore, Raghoba crossed the Nerbudda to Indore, where he was joined by Holkar and Sindia, who had returned from Rohilcund with about 30,000 horse. He also indulged the hope of receiving aid from the raja of Berar, and advanced to the banks of the Taptee, to secure the co-operation of the Guickwar army. In reference to the province of Guzerat, then under the rule of this family, it is to be observed that the authority of the Emperor was finally extinguished in it during the year 1755, when the capital, Ahmedabad, was captured by Damajee Guickwar, the Mahratta sirdar. At the period of his death, in 1768, his son, Govind Rao, who happened to be at Poona, obtained his father's title and possessions on the payment of various sums, which eventually reached fifty lacs of rupees. In 1771, his brother, Futteh Sing, proceeded to the Peshwa's court, and succeeded in supplanting him; but Govind Rao's cause was espoused by Raghoba, on becoming Peshwa, and the province was distracted by these rival claims. Raghoba now advanced to claim the support of his *protégée.*

Raghoba's negotiations with the English, 1775.

During the year 1772, the Court of Directors resolved to place a representative at the Poona durbar, in the hope of promoting their commercial interests, and, more especially, of obtaining possession of the port of Bassein, and the island of Salsette, which was separated from Bombay by a narrow channel, and comprised an area of about 150 square miles. With these acquisitions the Directors hoped to render Bombay the great emporium of the trade of the western coast with Persia, Arabia, the Red Sea, and China. These possessions fell into the hands of the Portuguese in an early period of their career, but were conquered by the Mahrattas in 1739, by whom they were prized beyond their value, as having been wrested from a European power. Raghoba, on his arrival at the Taptee, sent an envoy to Bombay to solicit the aid of a sufficient force to establish him in the government at Poona, and offered to defray all the expenses of the troops, as well as to make large grants of territory to the Company. The President and Council eagerly grasped at the proposal, and on the 6th of September, 1774, offered to assist him with 2,500 troops, on condition of his advancing fifteen or twenty lacs of rupees, and engaging to cede Salsette and Bassein in perpetuity to the Company. But Raghoba, even in his extremity, refused to alienate Salsette from the Mahratta dominions. While these negotiations were pending, the Bombay authorities received information that a large armament was fitted out at Goa for the recovery of these possessions, and as it was felt that the Portuguese would be more dangerous neighbours than the Mahrattas, an expedition was sent to Salsette, and the island occupied before the end of the year.

Raghoba's treaty with Bombay, 1775.

Meanwhile, the Regency at Poona having succeeded by large offers in detaching Holkar and Sindia from the cause of Raghoba, moved against him with a body of 30,000 men, and he narrowly escaped being captured by his perfidious allies and delivered up to his enemies. He retreated in all haste, leaving his begum at

Dhar, where she gave birth to a son, Bajee Rao, the last of the Peshwas. On the 17th of February, the troops of the Regency overtook him at Wassud, where his army was totally routed and dispersed, and he fled from the field with only a thousand horse. Ten days after this event, Colonel Keating arrived at Surat with the force which had been despatched from Bombay to his aid. Raghoba soon after joined his camp, and, after some further negotiations, affixed his seal on the 6th of March, 1775, to a treaty, known in history as the Treaty of Surat, concluded by the Bombay President, without the authority of the Calcutta Government, and which involved the Company in the first Mahratta war. The President had no evidence that Raghoba was chargable with the assassination of his nephew, but his guilt was universally believed by the Mahrattas, and the alliance of the English with a man branded with the crime of murder created a deep and lasting prejudice against them. By this treaty the Bombay Government engaged to furnish Raghoba with 3,000 British troops, and he pledged himself to the payment of eighteen lacs of rupees a-year, made an assignment of lands of the annual value of nineteen lacs, and—such was the desperate state of his affairs—agreed to concede Salsette and Bassein. The army of Colonel Keating, joined by the troops whom Raghoba's officers had succeeded in collecting together after their dispersion, manœuvred for a month between the Sabermuttee and the Myhee. It was during this period that Colonel Keating indiscreetly attempted to detach Futteh Sing Guickwar from the Poona regency; but the English troops had as yet achieved nothing, and the Colonel's envoy, a young lieutenant, was treated with the most humiliating contempt.

Battle of Arras, 17th May, 1775. The Bombay Government having thus embarked in a war with the Mahratta Regency, ordered Colonel Keating to quit Guzerat, and march upon Poona; but, as he moved down to the Myhee, he found the Mahratta army posted at Arras to dispute his progress. It was on this field that the English and Mahratta forces encountered each

other, for the first time since the gentlemen of the factory at Surat had so gallantly repulsed Sevajee in 1669. The brunt of the action fell on Colonel Keating's brigade, which was attacked by an army of ten times its number. The loss of life was severe, but, though the English troops were for a time staggered, their final triumph was complete, and the Mahrattas retreated in haste and disorder to the Nerbudda. Colonel Keating pursued them with vigour, and they considered themselves fortunate in effecting their escape across the river, after they had thrown all their heavy guns into it. Futteh Sing now hastened to make his peace with the victors, and engaged to furnish Raghoba with twenty-six lacs of rupees in two months, together with a large body of troops, and to secure to the Company a share of the Broach revenues to the extent of two lacs a-year. The Mahratta navy, moreover, which consisted of six vessels, carrying from 26 to 46 guns, was completely crippled by the English commodore. The campaign had been prosperous by sea and land; the Company had obtained a territorial revenue of twenty-four lacs a-year; the Mahrattas had been driven with disgrace across the Nerbudda, and so effectually damaged was their reputation, that the Nizam was emboldened to take advantage of their distress, and, under the threat of joining Raghoba, exacted a cession of lands valued at eleven lacs a-year. But the brilliant prospects which this success opened up were ruined by the proceedings of the Calcutta triumvirate.

Treaty with Raghoba disallowed at Calcutta, 1775.

The treaty with Raghoba, which appeared likely to involve a war with the Regency, was severely condemned by both parties in the Council in Calcutta, as "impolitic, dangerous, unauthorised, and unjust." When the war, however, had actually commenced, Hastings considered it almost impossible to withdraw from it with honour and safety, before the conclusion; and he advised that the Bombay Government should be vigorously supported in conducting it, and instructed to bring it to a termination as speedily as possible. But Mr. Francis and his colleagues

resented the audacity of the Bombay Council in making war without their consent, ordered the treaty with Raghoba to be immediately annulled, and all the British troops to be withdrawn from the field. At the same time, they announced their intention to send an agent of their own to open an independent negotiation with the ministers at Poona. In vain did the Bombay Council remonstrate with them on the disgrace of violating a solemn treaty. Colonel Upton was sent to Poona to disavow their proceedings; their authority was paralysed, and their character wantonly disgraced in the eyes of the princes of India.

The Treaty of Poorunder, March 1, 1776.

The astute ministers at Poona were not slow to take advantage of these discords, and extolled to the skies the wisdom of "the great governor of Calcutta, who had ordered peace to be concluded." When, however, Colonel Upton came to propose that Salsette and Bassein and the assigned revenues of Broach should be retained by the Company, they assumed a lofty tone, and spurned the conditions, demanding the immediate surrender of Raghoba and of all the territory recently acquired by the English; but they offered, as a matter of favour, to contribute twelve lacs of rupees towards the expenses which had been incurred in the war. The majority of the Council had, in fact, cut the sinews of the negotiation by the precipitate recal of the army from the field, but the insolent reply of the Regency roused their indignation, and they determined to support Raghoba, and to prosecute the war with all vigour. Letters were at once despatched to the various princes of India to secure their alliance, or their neutrality; a supply of treasure was despatched to Bombay, and troops were ordered to be held in readiness to take the field. But the Poona ministers, after this display of arrogance, unexpectedly conceded the greater part of Colonel Upton's demands, and the Treaty of Poorunder was signed on the 1st of March, 1776, by Succaram Bappoo and Nana Furnuvese. It annulled the engagements of the Bombay Government with Raghoba, who was to disband his army and retire

to the banks of the Godavery on a pension of three lacs of rupees a-year. The British army was to quit the field. Salsette was to be retained by the Company if the Governor-General desired it, but all the other acquisitions were to be relinquished; the claim on the revenues of Broach was conceded, together with twelve lacs of rupees, towards the expenses of the war, "by way of favour." Considering that all the advantages of the campaign had been on the side of the English, the Bombay Presidency was fully justified in reprobating the treaty, as "highly injurious to the reputation and the interests of the Company." It was a flagrant breach of faith with Ragoba, and it served to impair the confidence of the native powers in the engagements of the British Government. It inspired the Poona Regency with an undue sense of their own importance, and rendered a second war inevitable. The Bombay Council did not conceal their anxiety to obstruct the treaty. They gave an asylum to Raghoba at Surat, and threw their field armies into Surat and Broach. The Poona ministers raved at this infraction of the treaty, and threatened to carry fire and sword into every part of the Company's dominions; but all their menaces were treated with contempt at Bombay.

Decision of the Court, of Directors 1776.

On the 20th of August, 1776, a despatch was received from the Court of Directors, approving of the treaty concluded with Raghoba at Surat, and directing the other Presidencies to give him their support, and to retain the territories which had been ceded by him. The Bombay Council, smarting under the degradation inflicted on them by the Supreme Government, lost no time in turning this favourable decision to account. To the great annoyance of the Poona Regency, they gave countenance to an impostor, who claimed the office of Peshwa, as the identical Sudaseeb Rao Bhao, who had disappeared at the battle of Paniput. They invited Raghoba to Bombay, and settled 10,000 rupees a month on him. The Mahratta cabinet remonstrated against this fresh violation of the treaty of Poorunder, but it was weakened by internal discords. Succaram Bappoo, the head

of the ministry, was jealous of the growing power of his younger associate, Nana Furnuvese, who had fled from the field of Paniput, and who united the highest political talent with a singular want of personal courage. His cousin, Maroba Furnuvese, had been the minister of the deceased Madhoo Rao, and took a prominent part in public affairs, but in the interests of Succaram. Mahdajee Sindia was endeavouring to increase his own consequence by acting as umpire between the two factions. To increase the confusion at Poona, a French adventurer, of the name of St. Lubin, arrived there in March, 1777, and announced himself as the envoy of the King of France, who was on the eve of a war with the English. He was authorised, as he said, to offer the Mahrattas the support of 2,500 European troops, an abundant supply of stores and munitions of war, and officers to discipline 10,000 sepoys. He affected horror at the connection of the English with the assassin Raghoba, and produced in the durbar, with a burst of grief, a picture of the barbarous murder of Narayun Rao, which had been painted under his direction at Paris. Nana Furnuvese affected to credit his mission, and, with the view of annoying the English government, afforded him every encouragement, and made over to him the harbour of Choul, only twenty-three miles from Bombay.

Revolution in favour of Raghoba, 1778.

Meanwhile, a despatch was received at Bombay and Calcutta from the Court of Directors, regretting the sacrifices made by the treaty of Poorunder, and stating that, although they considered themselves bound in honour to adhere to it, yet, if there was any attempt on the part of the Poona Regency to evade its provisions, the Bombay Presidency was at liberty to renew the alliance with Raghoba. The President and Council found little difficulty in discovering infractions of a treaty which those who had dictated it never intended to respect but as it suited their interests, and prepared to espouse the cause of Raghoba. Their movements were hastened by the course of events at the Mahratta capital. Moraba Furnuvese, assisted

by Holkar, resolved to support Raghoba, and Succaram Bappoo joined the confederacy, and despatched an envoy to Bombay to request the government to conduct Raghoba to Poona with a military escort. The proposal was eagerly accepted, and preparations were immediately made for the expedition. Hastings, who had now regained his ascendancy in the Council, gave the project his approbation, partly because it was countenanced by Succaram Bappoo, one of the parties to the treaty of Poorunder, but chiefly because Nana Furnuvese was giving encouragement to the French, whose influence in Indian politics he considered the greatest of calamities. In a letter dated the 23rd of March, 1778, he authorized the Bombay Government "to assist in tranquillizing the Mahratta state," and engaged to send a large force across the continent to resist the aggressions of the French, which, in his opinion, threatened the existence of the Company's possessions in the west of India.

Counter revolution at Poona, 8th July, 1778

Nana Furnuvese was obliged to bend to the storm, and retire to Poorunder. Hurry Punt, the Mahratta general-in-chief, and one of his partizans, was, at the time, on his way to Meritch, to join Sindia in resisting the encroachments of Hyder, to which reference will be made hereafter. They were hastily recalled from the south, and reached Poorunder on the 8th of July, where they united with the army of Holkar, who had been, in the meantime, detached from the opposite party by a bribe of nine lacs of rupees, and restored Nana Furnuvese again to power. Maroba and his colleagues were arrested on the 11th, and many of them put to death, but Succaram Bappoo, whose name it was deemed important to associate with the proceedings of the state, was simply placed under restraint. The party of Raghoba was thus extinguished at Poona. But the Bombay President and Council were not disposed to desert him. They addressed certain questions to the new ministry at Poona; the replies were considered a violation of the treaty of Poorunder, and it was resolved to put to use the

liberty granted to them in the despatch of the Court of Directors and in the letter of Hastings. Towards the end of August, he informed them that he was endeavouring to form an alliance with the Rajah of Berar, which would embrace the politics of Poona, and enjoined them to avoid any measure hostile to the Poona Regency. But their passions were enlisted in the cause of Raghoba, which, in effect, they made their own; and without adequate preparation, without a commander on whom they could depend, and without alliances, they determined to send a handful of men against the strength of the Mahratta empire. Nana Furnuvese perceived the gathering storm, and prepared to meet it; he enlisted recruits in every direction, repaired and provisioned his forts, and refitted his vessels.

Expedition to Poona, 25th Nov. 1778.

A new treaty was now made with Raghoba, which differed little from that of Surat. An army of 4,000 men, of whom 600 were Europeans, was equipped and entrusted to Colonel Egerton, who had seen some service in Europe, but was little qualified for the duty assigned him. Disregarding the experience so dearly bought in the war with Hyder in 1768, "field deputies," under the name of civil commissioners, were sent with the army to control its movements, and to check peculation. Carnac, who had won some credit in the field in Bengal, was appointed the senior commissioner, and he exhibited his fitness for such a trust by a squabble, on the first day, with Colonel Egerton about the military honours to be paid him. The troops, encumbered with 19,000 bullocks besides other cattle, embarked at Panwell on the 25th of November, and, as if it had been designed to afford Nana and Sindia the most ample leisure for preparation, moved at the rate of two miles a day. It was the 23rd of December before the army ascended the ghauts, when its disasters began by the loss of one of the most energetic, bold, and judicious officers in its ranks, Captain Stewart, whose name, after the lapse of half a century, was still held in veneration by the inhabitants

of those valleys as Stewart Phakray, or Stewart the gallant.

Disastrous progress of the army, 1779.

On the 6th of January, Colonel Egerton resigned the command to Colonel Cockburn, but though he acted as civil commissioner, the responsibility of all subsequent movements rested with Carnac. On the 9th, the army reached Tullygaum, and found it destroyed. A report was spread that the enemy intended also to burn Chinchore, and even the capital itself. Carnac was panic-struck, and though within eighteen miles of Poona, with eighteen days' provisions in the camp, determined, in the first instance, to open a negotiation with the enemy, and then to retreat. Raghoba, who, with all his faults, was a gallant soldier, protested against this cowardice, so contrary to the British character, but the commissioners were so completely under the control of their own terrors, that they refused to wait even a single day for the result of their negotiations, threw their heavy guns into a pond, and begun their retreat that very night, hotly pursued by the enemy. The rear-guard, upon which the enemy's assaults were chiefly directed, was commanded by a young and gallant officer of the name of Hartley, who had been in the service about fourteen years, and gained the entire confidence of the sepoys. He received every attack with the utmost steadiness and animation, and drove back the enemy at every point. The sepoys fought with perfect enthusiasm. Had the command of the expedition been entrusted to him, he would, doubtless, have planted the British standard on the battlements of Poona: but in this, as in many subsequent campaigns, while the army contained men of the most heroic mould, and of the highest talent, it was under the command of wretched drivellers.

Disgraceful convention of Wurgaum, Jan., 1778.

The British force encamped, on the night of the 12th, at Wurgaum, and was assailed in the morning by the guns brought up by the enemy during the darkness. The troops began to lose heart;

the commander was bewildered, and declared that even a retreat had ceased to be possible. Captain Hartley in vain pointed out the mode in which it might be effected with little loss. Overtures were made to Nana Furnuvese, who demanded the surrender of Raghoba, before he would listen to terms, and the commissioners would have complied with the demand if that prince had not saved them from this infamy by surrendering himself to Sindia. Nana Furnuvese, however, appeared to be impracticable, and the commissioners turned to Sindia to whom they sent Mr. Holmes with full powers to treat. This separate negotiation flattered his vanity and increased his importance, and a convention, known as that of Wurgaum, was concluded under his auspices, which rescued the British army from destruction by the sacrifice of all the acquisitions which had been made since 1773. The advance of the army under Colonel Goddard across the country was countermanded, and for the first time in the history of British India, two hostages were given for the performance of the treaty. The failure of this expedition, which was owing to the interference of the imbecile Carnac, was a severe blow to the interests of the Company, who lost no time in dismissing him, as well as Colonels Egerton and Cockburn, from the service. The Bombay Presidency lost its reputation and its strength, and its only hope of safety now rested on the arrival of the Bengal army.

Goddard's expedition, 1778.

This expedition was despatched from the banks of the Jumna to Bombay through a thousand miles of unknown country, occupied by chiefs who were more likely to prove hostile than friendly. It was described by Mr. Dundas, the Indian minister, as "one of the frantic military exploits of Hastings," but he forgot that it was by a succession of such "frantic exploits" that British power and prestige had been established in India by a handful of foreigners. The force consisted of between 4,000 and 5,000 men, under the command of Colonel Leslie, a fair soldier, but unequal to such an enterprise. He crossed the Jumna in May,

1778, and was expected to reach the Nerbudda before it was swelled by the rains, but he wasted his time in discussions with petty chiefs, and in the course of five months had only advanced 120 miles. He was accordingly displaced, but died before the news of his supercession reached him, and the command of the army was entrusted by Hastings to Colonel Goddard, one of the brightest names in the history of British India. Through his energy, the expedition advanced at a rapid pace, notwithstanding the opposition of many of the chieftains. The raja of Bhopal, however, treated Goddard with the greatest kindness and hospitality, and furnished his troops with ample supplies, though at the risk of bringing down on himself the vengeance of the Mahratta powers. This generous conduct in a season of difficulty has not been forgotten by the British government in the height of its prosperity. The house of Bhopal has been treated by successive Governors-General with marked consideration; it has always been distinguished by its fidelity to the English crown, and the present Muha-ranee is the only female decorated with the most exalted Order of the Star of India.

War between France and England, 7th July, 1778.

During the progress of Colonel Goddard's expedition, intelligence was received in Calcutta of the declaration of war between France and England, and the difficulties of Hastings's position were greatly multiplied. The mission of St. Lubin—who had not then been detected as a charlatan—and the countenance given to him by Nana Furnuvese, created the apprehension that the Mahrattas would be strengthened by a large French armament, and possibly under the command of the redoubted Bussy, who had retired to France with a magnificent fortune, and married the neice of the minister, but was thirsting for service in the country where his exploits were still held in honour. Hastings adopted the most vigorous measures to meet this new crisis; he augmented the army; he embodied the militia of Calcutta, to the number of a thousand; and sent Mr. Elliott to the Rajah of Berar to secure his alliance by

the offer of assisting him to obtain the office of Peshwa. The negotiation, the success of which would have involved the Company in endless complications, was happily nipped in the bud when the raja heard that the Bombay government were about to support the claims of Raghoba by force of arms, but he liberally supplied Colonel Goddard with money and provisions, and thus enabled him to reach Boorhanpore without difficulty on the 30th of January, 1779. So strict was the discipline which the Colonel maintained in his army, and so punctual were his payments, that the chiefs and people on the route hastened to furnish him with supplies. At Boorhanpore, he heard of the disaster of the Bombay force at Wurgaum, and immediately turned off to Surat, a distance of 300 miles, which he traversed in twenty days, though he was without any map of the country. By this prompt movement he avoided a body of 20,000 Mahratta horse sent from Poona to intercept him. His timely arrival on the western coast proved the salvation of the Bombay Presidency. The unexpected appearance of so large a force from the banks of the Jumna, augmented the reputation of the British power, and confirmed its influence at the native courts, which the convention of Wurgaum had impaired.

Progress of events, 1779. This convention was repudiated equally by the Bombay Council and by Hastings, who directed Colonel Goddard to open a fresh negotiation with Nana Furnuvese, on the basis of the treaty of Poorunder, but with an additional stipulation for the exclusion of the French from the Mahratta dominions. In the meantime, Sindia had granted a jayger of twelve lacs of rupees in Bundlecund to Raghoba, and sent him under a slender escort to take possession of it. Raghoba, who was permitted to take his body guard and his guns with him, attacked and overpowered the escort on the route, and escaped to Surat, where he was honourably entertained by Colonel Goddard, who settled an allowance of half a lac of rupees a month on him. The whole scheme was evidently a contrivance of Sindia, to procure the release of

Raghoba, and hold Nana Furnuvese in check, by his habitual fears. Towards the close of the year, Succaram Bappoo, being no longer considered necessary, was confined by Nana in the fortress of Pertabgur, 4,000 feet above the level of the plain, from the windows of which he could discern the spot, where, a hundred years before, his ancestor Puntajee had basely betrayed his confiding master, Ufzul Khan, into the hands of Sevajee. The venerable old man was soon after removed to Raigur, where he closed a life which had been marked by every vicissitude of privation and grandeur, of toil and triumph.

Goddard's success in Guzerat, 1779—80.

The ministers at Poona considered the convention of Wurgaum as a final settlement of their differences with the English, and invited them to unite in an attack on Hyder, who had taken advantage of the confusion of the times to overrun the Mahratta territories up to the banks of the Kistna. But the reception accorded to Raghoba by Goddard on the 12th of June gave them mortal offence, and they immediately turned round and proposed to Hyder a union against the English, in pursuance of the confederacy which had been formed by the Nizam at the end of the monsoon. When, therefore, Goddard, who had early intimation of this alliance, demanded a categorical reply to the proposals he had made, Nana Furnuvese at once stated that the restitution of Salsette, and the surrender of Raghoba were necessary preliminaries to any treaty; and Goddard immediately dismissed the vakeels, and prepared for war. At the same time he endeavoured to negotiate with Futteh Sing Guickwar, whom Hastings had determined to acknowledge as the ruler of Guzerat, but that prince manifested a disposition to procrastinate, and Goddard lost no time in laying seige to Dubhoy, garrisoned by 2,000 of the Peshwa's troops, which surrendered on the 20th of January, 1780. Futteh Sing now began to negotiate in earnest, and a treaty offensive and defensive was concluded six days after, in which it was agreed that he should join the English camp with 3,000 horse, and

receive possession of all the Peshwa's territories north of the Myhee, and that certain districts to the south should be made over to the Company. On the 10th of February, Goddard captured the noble city of Ahmedabad, the modern capital of the province, surrounded by walls of immense extent, and filled with a population of 100,000. The capital was scarcely reduced, when Goddard heard that Sindia and Holkar had forded the Nerbudda with 20,000 horse on the 29th of February, and were advancing to encounter him. Sindia professed great enmity of Nana Furnuvese, and great friendship for the English, and liberated the two hostages of Wurgaum, whom he had treated with hospitality. He endeavoured to open negotiations, but Goddard could not fail to perceive that his chief object was to waste the season of operations. Seven days were, therefore, allowed him for a definite reply, and as it did not prove satisfactory, Goddard attacked and dispersed his troops on the 2nd, and again on the 14th of April, and cantoned his army for the season on the banks of the Nerbudda.

Capture of Gwalior, 3rd August, 1780.

On the side of Bengal, the war was conducted with brilliant success. Sixty miles south-east of Agra lay the little independent principality of Gohud, erected by a Jaut chieftain on the decay of the Mogul empire. The rana was incessantly threatened by the encroachments of Sindia, and solicited the protection of Hastings, who determined to take advantage of the appeal, and despatch an expedition, chiefly however with the view of creating a salutary diversion. It consisted of only 2,400 infantry, with a small body of cavalry, and a detail of European artillery, but it was commanded by Major Popham, one of the best soldiers in the service. He proceeded on his march in February, 1780, and having expelled the Mahratta invaders from the country, attacked the fortress of Lahar, without battering cannon, and carried it by the gallantry of his men. Fifty miles to the south of it lay the fort of Gwalior, on the summit of a stupendous rock, scarped almost entirely round, and

deemed throughout India impregnable. Sir Eyre Coote, the veteran hero of the Carnatic, now general-in-chief in Bengal, had declared that any attempt to capture it, more especially without siege guns, would be an act of madness. But Popham had set this "glorious object," as he termed it, before him, and determined to accomplish it. For two months he lay about the fortress, maturing his plans with such secrecy as to baffle all suspicion. On the night of the 3rd of August, the troops selected for the assault proceeded under the guidance of Captain Bruce to their destination. Two companies of sepoys led by four European officers, and followed by twenty English soldiers, applied the scaling ladders to the base of the scarped rock, sixteen feet high, then to a steep ascent of forty feet, and, lastly, to a wall of the height of thirty feet. Captain Bruce with twenty sepoys climbed up the battlements before their approach was suspected. The bewildered garrison made but a feeble resistance, and, by break of day, the British ensign was floating over the renowned fortress of Gwalior, while the Mahratta troops fled to carry the news to Sindia. The report of this brilliant achievement resounded through India, and wiped out the disgrace of the "infamous convention of Wurgaum," as Hastings termed it, and which he considered "it worth crores to obliterate." Popham was promoted to a majority, and then superseded by Colonel Carnac, who brought an additional force with him, and not only invaded Malwa, but threatened Sindia's capital. That chief was obliged to quit Poona in haste to attend to the defence of his own dominions, and the object of Hastings in this expedition was fully accomplished. Carnac, however, proved unequal to the enterprise entrusted to him, and allowed his force to be surrounded by the enemy, who obliged him to retreat, and harassed him at every step. Having at length procured a small supply of provisions for his starving troops, by forced contributions, he called a council of war to determine his future course. Captain Bruce, who was fortunately with the force, urged a

vigorous attack on the enemy's camp during the night, as affording the only chance of deliverance. His advice was adopted, and the surprise and overthrow of Sindia on the 24th of March, 1781, was complete. He lost elephants, horses, baggage, and a large number of troops, but, above all, his reputation, and that at a time when the credit of Holkar at the capital was elevated by his successful attack on General Goddard's force. Colonel Carnac soon after resigned the command of the brigade to Colonel Muir.

Confederacy against the English, 1779.

Towards the close of 1779, intelligence reached Hastings from various quarters of a general confederacy which had been formed by the Nizam and Hyder, and all the Mahratta chiefs, with the exception of the Guickwar, for the expulsion of the English from India. A simultaneous attack was to be made on the three Presidencies; on Bombay, by Sindia, Holkar, and the army of the Peshwa; on Madras by Hyder; and on Bengal by the Modajee Bhonslay, raja of Nagpore. At no former period had the English power been menaced with greater peril, and it required all the fortitude, resources, and genius of Hastings to meet the crisis. Hyder Ali was the first in the field, and burst on the Carnatic in July, 1780, as will be hereafter narrated. The safety of Madras demanded the immediate and undivided attention of Hastings, and he was under the necessity of informing Bombay that he could afford it no farther assistance. Mr. Hornby, the President, feeling that he had no resource but in his own efforts, exhibited the greatest vigour and prudence. To enable him to draw supplies from the Concan, Colonel Hartley was sent to clear the province of the Mahrattas, which he effected with little difficulty, after he had inflicted a severe defeat on them in October, 1780. Goddard marched down from Surat, and laid siege to Bassein on the 13th of November. Nana Furnuvese advanced with a powerful army to recover the Concan, and relieve that fortress. Colonel Hartley had been engaged for upwards of a month in daily skirmishes with the Mahratta force; his ammunition was

nearly exhausted; he was encumbered with 600 sick, and had only 2,000 jaded troops fit for duty; but he felt the importance of maintaining his communications with Goddard, which Nana was endeavouring to cut off, and he took up a strong position at Doogaur, where he sustained the assault of 20,000 Mahratta horse for two days. On the third, the 12th of December, 1780, their gallant and skilful general, Ramchunder Gunnesh, was killed; the army became dispirited and fled precipitately with heavy loss. Bassein had surrendered on the previous day to Goddard with the loss of only thirteen of his men, and he immediately moved down to the support of Colonel Hartley, and, on surveying the field of action, expressed his admiration of the judicious position he had chosen, and the valour of his troops. This was all the reward that gallant soldier ever received for his achievements in this war; he was immediately after superseded, and the public service deprived of his talents at the time when they were most urgently needed.

Failure of Goddard's expedition to Poona, 1781.

Hastings, alarmed by Hyder's irruption into the Carnatic, considered it important to the safety of British interests in India to make peace with the Mahrattas, and he proposed a treaty on reasonable terms, through the raja of Nagpore, who, was still friendly to the English though he had joined the confederacy. But on hearing of the destruction of Baillie's force in the Carnatic, in September, 1780, he considered their affairs desperate, and hesitated to become mediator, except on conditions to which the Governor-General would not accede. Goddard, conceiving that the desire for peace on the part of the Poona durbar would be quickened by an advance towards Poona, ascended the ghauts with a large force. This expedition, which proved to be a total failure, was the only mistake of his career. After having injudiciously taken post at the Bhore ghaut, he was incessantly harrassed by the Mahratta army, and obliged at length to retreat, when he was vigorously attacked by Holkar with 25,000 horse, and did not reach Bombay without the loss of

450, killed and wounded. The discomfiture of this renowned general was considered by the Mahrattas one of their most signal victories, and it was a fortunate circumstance that at this critical period the troops of Sindia should have been engaged in defending his own territories, many hundred miles distant. This inauspicious expedition, which terminated on the 23rd of April, 1781, was the last operation of the war, although more than a twelvemonth elapsed before the conclusion of peace.

Arrangement with Bhonslay, 1780.

The raja of Berar, to support appearances with his confederates, sent an army of 30,000 horse in October, 1779, under his son Chimnajee towards Cuttack, for the ostensible purpose of invading Bengal, but he endeavoured to convince Hastings that his intentions were not hostile, by prolonging its march for seven months, and then employing it in the reduction of a fort in Orissa. To relieve Madras from the pressure of Hyder's army, Hastings resolved to aid it by a force from Bengal. But a body of Bengal sepoys, who had recently been ordered to embark at Vizagapatam for Madras, objecting to a sea voyage on account of their caste prejudices, had murdered their officers, and committed great outrages. To avoid the recurrence of such a scene, Hastings determined to send the Bengal detachment along the coast by land, though the distance was seven hundred miles, and the route lay through unknown and hostile provinces. This was another of those "frantic military exploits" of Hastings, which served to overawe the native princes, and to establish the ascendancy of British power. Colonel Pearce started with the army on the 9th of January, 1781, and it was on the line of march in Orissa that one-half his force perished of cholera, and this is apparently the first notice which we have of the existence of a disease which has proved the mysterious scourge of the nineteenth century. Colonel Pearce experienced the same friendly support from the raja of Nagpore, which that prince had previously given to Goddard. Hastings, with the

view of detaching the raja from the confederacy, and enlisting him against Hyder, had made him a promise of sixteen lacs of rupees, of which three had already been paid. Chimnajee was, at this time, in great distress for money, and Hastings eagerly embraced the opportunity of offering the remainder of the sum, on the condition of a treaty of alliance, which was soon after concluded, with the proviso that 2,000 of the raja's horse should accompany the detachment, and act against Hyder. "Thus," remarked Hastings, with exultation, "have we converted an ostensible enemy into a declared friend, and transferred the most formidable member of the confederacy, after Hyder, to our own party, saved Bengal from a state of dangerous alarm, if not from actual invasion, and all the horrors of a predatory war, and have completed the strength of Colonel Pearce's detachment."

Treaty with Sindia, 13th Oct., 1781.

The signal defeat of Sindia by Colonel Camac convinced him that he had everything to lose by a contest with the English in the heart of his dominions, which might end in driving him across the Nerbudda without land or friends, and extinguishing his influence in the Mahratta commonwealth. He accordingly made overtures to Colonel Muir, which Hastings was but too happy to entertain, and they terminated in a treaty which was concluded on the 13th of October. The territory west of the Jumna, from which he had been expelled by Major Popham, was restored to him, with the exception of the fort of Gwalior, which was reserved for the rana of Gohud, and he engaged to negotiate a treaty between the other belligerents and the British government, but, at all events, to stand neutral. The treaty gave great umbrage to Nana Furnuvese, partly because it acknowledged Sindia as an independent power, but chiefly because this assumption of the office of plenipotentiary served to increase his power and his importance.

Treaty of Salbye, 17th May, 1782.

Hastings's anxiety for peace with the Mahratta Regency was quickened by the arrival of a French armament on the coast which, under existing cir-

cumstances, might, he feared "result in the extirpation of our nation from the Carnatic." "It was not," he said, "peace with conditions of advantage he wanted, but speedy peace, for which he would sacrifice every foot of ground he had acquired from the Mahrattas." After a variety of disappointments, the treaty of Salbye was at length completed on the 17th of May, 1782, and signed by Mr. Anderson on the part of the Company, and by Sindia on behalf of the Peshwa and the Mahratta chiefs, he becoming at the same time the mutual guarantee of both parties for the performance of its conditions. All the territory acquired by the British arms since the treaty of Poorunder was restored. Futteh Sing Guickwar was replaced in his original position in Guzerat. Raghoba was to be allowed three lacs of rupees a year, with liberty to choose his own place of residence. Hyder was to be required to relinquish all his conquests in the Carnatic, and to release all his prisoners within six months, and, in case of refusal, was to be attacked by the forces of the Peshwa. But Nana Furnuvese, after having accepted the treaty, hesitated to ratify it, in the hope of making better terms with Hyder. After many months of anxiety, Hastings became impatient of further delay, and on the 4th of December instructed Mr. Anderson to demand the fulfilment of Sindia's promises, and the immediate ratification of the treaty, stating that he should otherwise be under the necessty of making a separate peace with Hyder, which would leave him at liberty to carry all his forces towards the Kistna, and not only secure the possessions he had conquered from the Mahrattas, but augment them. On the 5th of December, Hastings received a copy of the resolution of the House of Commons, that it was the duty of the Court of Directors to remove him from the head of affairs inasmuch as he had acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of the British nation, and he began to tremble for the ratification of the treaty, when this resolution should be known in every durbar in India. On the 7th all anxiety was removed by the death of Hyder, of which Nana Furnuvese was no

sooner informed than he affixed the Peshwa's seal to the treaty, without any farther hesitation.

CHAPTER XIV.

HASTINGS'S ADMINISTRATION—AFFAIRS OF MADRAS, THE SECOND MYSORE WAR, 1771—1784.

Affairs of Tanjore, 1771—1773.

THE kingdom of Tanjore had been in a great measure exempt from the ravages of war during hostilities with Hyder, but had contributed little to the defence of the country. Mahomed Ali, from the period of his accession to the throne of the Carnatic had never ceased to covet the possession of it. He now asserted that former Nabobs had obtained contributions from it of sixty, eighty, and even a hundred lacs of rupees, and he importuned the Madras Council to aid him in fleecing the raja. The Court of Directors, impoverished by the expenses of the late war, looked to the resources of Tanjore with a wishful eye, and had instructed their servants at Madras to support the views of the Nabob, if the raja refused to submit to reasonable terms. The demands which the Nabob made, however, were beyond all reason; the raja refused to submit to them, and the Council for some time manifested a virtuous reluctance to enforce them, but were at length induced to send forward an army. The Tanjorines made a very spirited defence, but a breach was at length effected in the fortifications, and the town was on the point of surrendering, when, on the 27th of October, 1771, the Nabob's second son, who had accompanied the expedition, without consulting his English supporters, signed a treaty with the raja, extorting from him fifty lacs as the compensation for peace. With the aid of the British detachments he then proceeded to plunder the polygars, or zemindars of the two Marawars, and subjected the wretched

inhabitants to the most revolting cruelties, leaving nothing in the track of his soldiers but burnt and desolated villages.

Second attack on Tanjore, 1773.

In June, 1773, the Nabob again demanded the aid of the Madras government to crush the raja; he had not, he said, fulfilled his engagements; ten lacs of rupees were still due from him; and he had, moreover, made application to Hyder and to the Mahrattas for support. The Council ridiculed the preposterous idea of going to war with him for arrears. They knew that he had exhausted his treasury to make good the extortionate fine imposed on him, of which he had been enabled to pay five-sixths by mortgaging his districts and his jewels to the Danes at Tranquebar, and the Dutch at Negapatam. As to the overtures he had made to Hyder and the Mahrattas, they remarked that the treaty of 1769 had placed him under the protection of Hyder, and, that, when he found himself abandoned to the tender mercies of the Nabob, who had resolved on his destruction, it was natural that he should seek to strengthen himself by alliances with the other powers of the Deccan. Nevertheless, the President and his Council argued that the existence of such a power as that of the raja in the heart of the country, who would join Hyder and the French in the event of a war, unless the Company supported him in his just rights, was a source of danger; and that it was therefore proper and expedient to embrace this opportunity of reducing him entirely, before the occurrence of such an event. It is difficult to believe that Englishmen and Christians, even in that period of profligacy, could have adopted such a train of reasoning to justify the ruin of an innocent prince. The opponents of the President and Council, however, gave a different account of the origin of this war of extermination, and affirmed that it arose from the resentment of the gentlemen at Madras, when they found that the raja had resorted for loans to the Dutch and the Danes, instead of giving them the benefit of these lucrative transactions. Whatever may have been the motive, an English army marched into Tanjore in September,

1773, deposed the raja and made over his country to the Nabob. The Court of Directors, astounded by the report of this infamous proceeding, lost no time in expelling the President, Mr. Wynch, from the service, and ordering the raja to be restored, placing him for the future under the safeguard of British honour!

Lord Pigot, governor of Madras, 11th Dec., 1775.

The vacant chair at Madras was bestowed on Lord Pigot, who had gone out to Madras forty years before, and, after having risen to the post of President, returned to England with a fortune of forty lacs of rupees, and was honoured with an Irish peerage. The old man was now seized with the mania of going back to Madras as governor. He found, on his arrival, that the system of peculation and extortion had intermediately attained great maturity; and he set himself to the task of cleansing the Augean stable, which set the whole settlement in a blaze. To prevent the restoration of Tanjore to the raja, the Nabob spared no art or intrigue; he went so far as to offer a bribe of sixty lacs of rupees to the governor himself, if he would only postpone the transfer, but the orders of the Court of Directors were peremptory, and Lord Pigot proceeded in person to Tanjore, and seated the raja on the throne on the 11th of April, 1776, leaving an English garrison for the defence of the country. But the restoration was no sooner proclaimed that Mr. Paul Benfield came forward and asserted that he had an assignment on the revenues of Tanjore from the Nabob of sixteen lacs of rupees, and a claim on the standing crop of seven lacs for sums lent to the husbandmen. Nothing can more clearly demonstrate the total demoralization of the public service at the Madras Presidency than the fact that this Benfield, occupying an inferior post, not worth more than 200 or 300 rupees a month, and keeping the grandest equipages at Madras, should not consider it by any means preposterous to assert that he had advanced twenty-three lacs of rupees on the revenues of the province. The Council called for vouchers, which he was unable to produce, but he assured them that the Nabob was

prepared to admit the obligation, of which there could be no doubt, as the claim had evidently been concocted between them to defraud the Company and the raja. After long deliberation the Council, on the 29th of May, 1776, rejected the claim.

Deposition and death of Pigot 1776—77.

But the Council soon repented of this act of virtue. They and the other members of the civil service were creditors of the Nabob to the extent of a crore and a-half of rupees, and they discovered that by rejecting the claim of Benfield, they had impaired their hold on the revenues of Tanjore. The vote was reconsidered; Lord Pigot and his friends strenuously resisted the proceedings, but a majority of seven to five resolved that the assignments made to Paul Benfield were valid. The dispute was widened by other questions, and both parties became inflamed. Lord Pigot unconstitutionally suspended two of the members of Council and ordered the commandant, Sir Robert Fletcher, to be placed under arrest. Fletcher was the officer whom Clive had dismissed ten years before, during the mutiny of the officers in Bengal which he had fomented, but whom the Court of Directors had, out of opposition to Clive, restored to the service. The majority of the Council then assumed the government, and placed Lord Pigot in confinement. The order was executed by Colonel Stuart, who passed the day with him at his country seat, in the most friendly intercourse, and drove out with him in the carriage, when, on a given signal, it was surrounded by troopers, and the governor was hurried off to a place of imprisonment. The Court of Directors, after receiving the report of these violent proceedings, ordered that Lord Pigot should be restored to the office of President, and then resign it. Seven members of Council were dismissed from the service, and the military officers placed on their trial. But before these orders could reach Madras, Lord Pigot was beyond the reach of praise or blame. He sunk under his misfortunes in April, 1777, after a confinement, by no means rigorous, of eight months.

Rumbold, governor of Madras, 8th Feb. 1778.

The state of affairs at Madras was not at all improved by the appointment of Sir Thomas Rumbold, who had been trained up in the Bengal school of corruption, as his successor. The Northern Sircars formed the only territory from which the Madras Presidency derived any revenue, but the malversations of the collectors left but a small portion of it to the state. The Court of Directors had, therefore, been induced to order five of the members of Council to proceed to the province, and after diligent investigation, to place the settlement on a satisfactory basis. Sir Thomas Rumbold, immediately on his arrival at Madras, cancelled the commission, and ordered the zemindars to repair in person to the Presidency, a distance of 600 miles, through a country without a road. The zemindars who were able to afford the cost, were required, on reaching the Presidency, to transact business with the governor alone, to the exclusion of the members of Council. The principal zemindar, Viziram raj, who was, in fact, a local prince, pleaded the injury which his affairs must suffer during his absence, as an excuse for not leaving his estates. But his brother hastened to the Presidency, and having given a bribe of a lac of rupees to the governor's secretary, was appointed dewan, in spite of all his brother's remonstrances, and thus obtained the entire control and management of the zemindary. Sir Thomas Rumbold himself was found to have remitted four lacs and a-half of rupees to England after he had been six months at Madras, and the suspicions to which so large a remittance gave rise, were never satifactorily removed.

The Guntoor Sircar, 1778.

The treaty with the Nizam in 1768, had given the reversion of the Guntoor Sircar to the Company, after the death of his brother, Basalut Jung. That prince, with Adoni for the capital of his little principality, was ambitious of increasing his power and territory, and had gradually formed a French corps under M. Lally, which received recruits and supplies through the little seaport of Mootapilly. The Madras government repeatedly remonstrated against the

presence of this corps, to Basalut Jung, and also to his feudal superior, the Nizam, who promised that every article of the treaty should be fulfilled to a hair's breadth, but the troops were not disbanded. Basalut Jung was at length threatened by the encroachments of Hyder, and opened a communication with Sir Thomas Rumbold, and a treaty was concluded in April, 1779, by which he bound himself to dismiss the French corps, and to entrust the defence of his dominions to an English force, and assign the Guntoor Sircar for its support. Scarcely was the treaty dry, when the Sircar was transferred on a ten years' lease to Mahomed Ali, that is, to his English creditors, and we are thus furnished with a key to the whole transaction. An English force immediately set out to take possession of the district, and Mr. Holland was deputed to Hyderabad, to expound the transaction to the Nizam. The Nizam expressed the highest resentment at this intrusion into the affairs of his family, and more especially at the military support offered to his brother, who might thus become a formidable rival. But his indignation knew no bounds when Mr. Holland farther requested a remission of the peshcush or tribute payable for the Northern Sircars, which had already been withheld for two years. He called for the treaty and read it over, item by item, before Mr. Holland, and charged the English with violating its provisions, and seeking a quarrel with him. It was under these feelings of irritation that he set himself to organize the grand confederacy for the extermination of the English to which reference has been already made.

Dismissal of Rumbold, 1781.

Hastings, from whom these transactions had been carefully concealed, no sooner heard of them, than he superseded the authority of the Madras Council at the court of Hyderabad, and assured the Nizam that the intentions of the British government were honourable and pacific, that Guntoor should not be occupied, and that the arrears of peshcush should be discharged as speedily as possible. By these assurances, Hastings was enabled to appease

the Nizam, and to neutralize his hostility as a member of the grand confederacy. This friendly disposition was likewise improved by the discovery he had recently made, that Hyder Ali's ambition had led him to send a mission to Delhi, and to obtain a sunnud from the phantom of an emperor, conferring on him the whole of the Hyderabad territories. The French troops, which Basalut Jung was constrained to dismiss, were immediately taken into the service of the Nizam, and the anxiety which their presence in the Deccan inspired was greatly augmented. Sir Thomas Rumbold remonstrated, with great vehemence against this interference of the Governor-General, in the political movements of the Madras Presidency; but the measure of his transgressions was now full, and in January, 1781, the Court of Directors after passing the severest censure on his conduct, expelled him from the situation which he had filled and disgraced for more than two years. But he anticipated their decision by deserting his post, and returning to England, as soon as the war with Hyder, which his follies had provoked, was on the eve of breaking out.

Progress of Hyder. 1773-1776.

Before entering on the narrative of the second Mysore war in 1780, a brief review of Hyder's progress, after he had been constrained to make peace with the Mahrattas in 1772, appears desirable. The confusion created in the Mahratta counsels by the murder of the young Peshwa, Narayun Rao, afforded Hyder an opportunity of enlarging his territories, which he was not slow to improve. In November of that year he subjugated the principality of Coorg, which offered the noblest resistance, and was, therefore, treated with more than ordinary barbarity. The sum of five rupees was offered for the head of each male, and Hyder took his seat in state to distribute the rewards. After 700 heads had thus been paid for, two of surpassing beauty were laid at his feet, and he was so startled by their comeliness as to order the execution to cease. The circumstance is remarkable, as this is said to have been the only instance in which he ever exhibited any emotion of pity. He

pursued this career of conquest with uninterrupted success, and in one short campaign, extending from September, 1773, to February, 1774, recovered all the districts of which he had been dispossessed by the Mahrattas, and strengthened his power in Malabar. In 1775, he reduced the fortress of Bellary, belonging to Basalut Jung, whom he constrained to purchase peace by the sacrifice of a lac of pagodas. He then proceeded to extinguish the power which Morari Rao, the renowned chieftain of Gooty, had been employed for thirty years in building up, and before the end of 1776, had extinguished the independence of Savanoor.

Nizam and Peshwa attack Hyder, 1776-1778.

Raghoba, during his vicissitudes, had been in constant communication with Hyder Ali, who had acknowledged his title, and furnished him, from time to time, with funds to the extent of sixteen lacs of rupees, receiving in return a confirmation of all the territories he had recently conquered. The cabinet at Poona, alarmed at his encroachments, formed an alliance with the Nizam, hoping, at the same time, to demolish all the hopes of Raghoba. A Mahratta army of 30,000, and a Hyderabad army of 40,000, accordingly took the field in 1776, but were unable to achieve any success. The invasion was renewed the next year, but the general of the Nizam was rendered inactive by the gold of Hyder, and the Mahratta commander-in-chief was obliged to retreat in consequence of the desertion of one of his generals, whom Hyder had corrupted with six lacs of rupees. The year 1778 was marked by the most active and successful exertions on the part of Hyder, and at the close of it he was enabled to contemplate the fertile banks of the Kistna as the northern boundary of his dominions. In May, 1779, he attacked the Nabob of Kurpa, who had sided with his opponents in the recent war, and annexed all his territories.

Hyder's negotiations with Madras, 1773-1778.

The resentment which Hyder manifested at the refusal of the government of Madras to afford him any assistance, in 1772, when pressed to

extremity by the Mahrattas, did not prevent his making overtures to them, in 1773, but all his efforts to establish a friendly intercourse were defeated by the machinations of the Nabob, Mahomed Ali. Hyder then turned to the French at Pondicherry, where his envoys were received with great eagerness by the governor, M. Bellecombe. The inveterate hostility and incessant invasions of the Mahrattas, however, induced him again to court the alliance of the English, and he offered his assistance towards the establishment of Raghoba at Poona, asking, in return, only for a supply of stores and arms, and a small body of troops, for which he was willing to make a suitable payment. The proposal, though acceptable both at Calcutta and Madras, was not entertained with any degree of cordiality.

Capture of Pondicherry, 10th Sept., 1778.

In the month in which this negotiation was in progress, information was received of the commencement of hostilities between France and England, and a force was soon after sent against Pondicherry, the fortifications of which had been completely restored. The place was defended by the gallant Bellecombe for ten weeks with great constancy, but capitulated at length on the 18th of September, 1778, when the garrison was permitted to march out with all the honours of war. The governor of Madras, in announcing this success to Hyder, offered to renew the negotiations, and to place a resident at his court, but intimated, at the same time, his intention to send an expedition to capture Mahé. This was a small French settlement on the Malabar coast, through which Hyder had, for three years, been in the habit of receiving recruits and supplies of every description from Europe, and the continued occupation of which by his French allies was to him a matter of great importance. He replied that he considered all the foreign settlements, English, French and Dutch, equally under his protection; that he should support the French garrison with all his strength, and retaliate any attack by an invasion of the Carnatic. Hyder's troops accordingly as-

sisted in the defence of the fort, and his colours were hoisted side by side with those of the French; but the place surrendered in March, 1779. Hyder did not disguise his resentment from the governor of Madras, and the tone of his communications created so much alarm as to induce Sir Thomas Rumbold to send the celebrated missionary, Swartz, to allay his feelings, and to sound his disposition. Hyder received the missionary with great respect, but nothing was gained by the mission except the most unequivocal evidence of his hostility.

Hyder joins the confederacy, 1779.

While Hyder's feelings were thus exasperated against the Madras authorities, he received intelligence that Colonel Harper, who had been sent to take possession of Guntoor, was marching through the province of Kurpa, which he had recently conquered, without even asking his permission. His indignation was roused to the highest pitch, and he declared that he would neither allow an English force to occupy Guntoor, or to proceed to Adoni, and his officers were ordered to resist the progress of Colonel Harper by an armed force. Basalut Jung was likewise obliged, by the menaces of Hyder and of the Nizam, to request that the march of the English troops might be countermanded, and the sircar restored; but with this request the Madras Government did not see fit to comply. Meanwhile, an envoy arrived at Seringapatam from Poona, to represent that Hyder, equally with the Mahrattas, had reason to complain of the breach of their engagements by the English Government, and to request him to join the confederacy which had been formed to expel them from India. The Mahratta ministers offered to adjust all their differences with him; to relinquish all claims for arrears of *chout*, to limit his future payments to eleven lacs of rupees a year, and to confirm the grants of territory up to the Kistna, made by Raghoba. Hyder accepted these proposals with avidity, and agreed to put forth his whole strength for the extermination of the British power. A few months after, Sir

Thomas Rumbold sent Mr. Grey to Seringapatam to offer an alliance with the Mysore state; but he was treated with studied indignity, and informed that the offer of friendship came too late. Osman, Hyder's minister, in the course of the discussions, took occasion to remark that he had been at Madras, and had seen how the English treated their allies. "Mahomed Ali," he said, "shewed me several letters he had received from the King of England, but he complained of the lacs of pagodas which each one had cost him."

Hyder's preparations for war, 1780.

For many months Hyder had been making preparations for war on the largest scale, superintending every arrangement in person, though then in his seventy-eighth year, and by the end of June, had equipped the most efficient force ever collected under the standard of a native prince. It consisted of 90,000 horse and foot, a large proportion of which had been trained and was commanded by European officers. It was supported by a powerful artillery, directed by European science and skill, and his commissariat was admirably organized by a brahmin of the name of Poornea. At Madras no preparation was made to meet the coming storm. In a spirit of infatuation which has no parallel in our Indian history, the members of government refused even to acknowledge the danger, and the idea of an invasion became the topic of ridicule. The President informed the Court of Directors with peculiar satisfaction that the country was in perfect tranquillity, and that there was "the greatest prospect that this part of India would remain quiet." Even so late as the 17th of July while Hyder was advancing through the passes, the commander-in-chief declared that all apprehensions were groundless.

Hyder bursts on the Carnatic, 20th July, 1780.

These illusions were speedily dispelled. Hyder, having completed the equipment of his army, and ordered prayers for its success to be put up in the mosques, and offerings to be made in the Hindoo temples, burst on the Carnatic, through the Changama pass, on the

20th of July, 1780, and his progress was marked by the blaze of towns and villages. He appeared anxious, on this occasion, to exhaust all the resources of cruelty which a mind never sensible to pity could suggest. The wretched inhabitants were required to emigrate to Mysore with their flocks and herds, and those who lingered about their homesteads, were mutilated without discrimination. With the exception of four forts held by four English lieutenants every fort, as far as the Coleroon, was surrendered by the commandants of Mahomed Ali, whom Hyder Ali had corrupted. The incredulity of the Council was at length dispelled by the announcement that his troops had surrounded Conjeveram, only fifty miles from Madras. But it was not till black clouds of smoke were seen in every quarter from St. Thomas's Mount, distant only nine miles from Madras, that any order was issued for the movement of troops to repel the enemy. The main body of the British army encamped at the Mount was about 5,200 strong, and the force sent to occupy Guntoor, now commanded by Colonel Baillie, amounted to about 2,800 men. It was of the last importance that a junction should be at once effected of these two bodies, but Hyder had laid siege to Arcot, which contained the few military stores which the Nabob possessed, and, after a succession of distracted councils at Madras, it was determined to make an effort to relieve it. Sir Hector Munro, the general-in-chief, therefore, proceeded to Conjeveram, and Colonel Baillie, who had arrived within twenty-five miles of Madras, was ordered to make a circuitous march of fifty miles to join him.

Colonel Baillie's movements, 1780.

Colonel Baillie had reached the banks of the Cortella, then nearly dry, but liable to be swollen by mountain torrents, on the 25th of August, and imprudently encamped on the northern bank. On that night the stream became impassable, and he was unable to cross it before the 4th of September. Hyder immediately despatched his son, Tippoo, with the flower of his army and eighteen guns, to arrest the progress of this brigade. Tippoo

attacked Baillie on the 6th, at a place distant only fourteen miles from Sir Hector's encampment at Conjeveram. The contest was severe, and the loss on both sides so heavy, that Tippoo informed his father that he could make no impression on the English without reinforcements, while Baillie informed the General that it was no longer in his power to reach Conjeveram; and therefore hoped, that he would unite with him at the spot where the engagement had taken place. Sir Hector Munro had acquired a brilliant reputation in Bengal sixteen years before, by quelling the first sepoy mutiny, and defeating the Nabob Vizier at Buxar; but on this occasion he exhibited nothing but the most scandalous incapacity. Instead of forming a junction with the other detachment, he allowed Hyder to interpose between the two bodies with the greater part of his army, and then detached Colonel Fletcher with 1,100 men to the support of Baillie. The English force was thus broken up into three divisions, in the vicinity of a powerful and spirited enemy. But so great was the dread which Hyder entertained of British prowess, that he had determined, in case the whole force was united, to raise the siege of Arcot, and retrace his steps. Even Lally, his French general, considered it incredible that Munro would remain inactive, and counselled a retreat, lest the Mysore army should be attacked at the same time in front and rear. Colonel Fletcher, knowing that his guides were in Hyder's pay, prudently adopted a different route from that which they advised, and was enabled to join Baillie in safety.

Total destruction of Baillie's force, 10th Sept., 1780.

The two brigades advanced till the evening of the 9th September, and a short march would have completed their junction with the main body; but by an act of incredible fatuity, Baillie ordered his men to lie on their arms for the night. Meanwhile, Hyder having ascertained through his spies that Munro was making no preparation for moving, despatched the remainder of his army against Baillie, who had no sooner commenced his march in the morning, than he found himself enveloped by the

whole of the Mysore army. It was in vain that his men performed prodigies of valour, and repeatedly stormed the batteries. The enemy had chosen their positions with great skill, and poured in a destructive fire. The European soldiers, though they had sustained thirteen attacks, and were reduced to 300, still called out to be led against their assailants; but Baillie refused to sacrifice the lives of these brave men, and held out a flag of truce. They had no sooner laid down their arms, however, than Hyder's men rushed upon them, and would have butchered the whole body, if the French officers had not interposed to save them. Of 86 officers, 70 were killed or wounded, and the whole army, with all its stores, baggage and equipments was totally and irretrievably lost. Sir Hector Munro's force was only two miles distant at the time, and if he had came up during the engagement, the defeat would have been turned into a victory, and the fortunes of the war completely changed. On the following day he threw his heavy guns into the great tank, or pond, at Conjeveram, and retreated in haste and disorder to Madras, hotly pursued by the enemy, and losing baggage at every turn. And thus terminated in disaster and disgrace, this brief campaign of twenty-one days, in which the heroism of the men formed a melancholy contrast to the utter incompetence of their generals.

Hastings's energetic measures, 1780.

A vessel was immediately dispatched to Calcutta with information of the disaster. To the embarrassment of a war with the Mahrattas, was now added a war with Hyder, which had commenced with the greatest reverse the English arms had hitherto sustained in India. But never did the genius of Hastings appear to more advantage than in this emergency. "All my hopes," he wrote, "of aggrandizing the British name and enlarging the interests of the Company, have given instant place to the more urgent call to support the existence of both in the Carnatic, nor did I hesitate a moment to abandon my own views for such an object." Mr. Whitehill, the governor of Madras,

who had persisted in retaining Guntoor, after he had received orders from Calcutta to restore it, was suspended from his office, to the great satisfaction of the settlement, though, as Hastings remarked, "the creature made some show of resistance." All the troops which could be spared were immediately despatched, together with fifteen lacs of rupees, for the sole use of the army, and not as a civil supply; and such was the energy displayed on this occasion, that the whole embarkation, and all the measures projected for so great an occasion, were completed within three weeks. The veteran, Sir Eyre Coote, had succeeded Sir John Clavering, as commander-in-chief in Bengal, and was solicited to proceed to Madras, and restore the honour of the British name. He was now advanced in years, and feeble in health, but he would not decline this honourable summons to the scene of his early triumphs. But the boldest measure which Hastings adopted at this crisis, was to stop the Company's investment, and apply the funds to the expedition. Even this provision, however, was found to be insufficient. It was a subject of exultation, that during the eight years of his administration, he had not only discharged debts to the extent of a crore and a half of rupees, but replenished the treasury with double that sum; it was, therefore, with no ordinary chagrin that he was now obliged to have recourse to a loan.

Defence of Wandewash, 1781.

Sir Eyre Coote reached Madras on the 5th of November, and found the equipment of the army so wretched, and the difficulty of obtaining draft and carriage cattle in a country swept by hostile cavalry so great, that it was the 17th of January before he was able to move his army. Hyder had resumed the siege of Arcot, and its small European garrison, after holding out for six weeks, was obliged to retire to the citadel which Clive had defended for fifty days. But the Nabob's brahmin commandant, under Hyder's influence, spread a spirit of disaffection among the native troops to such an extent that the European officers had no alternative but to capitulate. Hyder was at

the same time engaged in besieging five other forts, one of which, Wandewash, was defended by Lieutenant Flint and a brother officer, with such romantic valour and such military skill that the siege became one of the most honourable events of the war. This distinguished officer, however, received no other reward for his eminent services but the applause of Sir Eyre Coote, whose admiration of the resources which had been employed knew no bounds. The Court of Directors refused even to promote him to the command of a company. Soon after, Sir Eyre Coote revived the drooping spirits of the army by the capture of Carangolly, which Hyder had fortified with great care.

Battle of Porto Novo, 1st July, 1781.

On the 8th of February, the general marched southwards to Cuddalore, where he was subjected to the most mortifying embarrassment for supplies, which he could receive only by sea. The hostile armies remained inactive for four months, Coote unable to move for want of provisions, and Hyder dreading an encounter with him. On the 18th of June, Coote attacked the fortified and well-provisioned temple of Chillumbrum, but met with a repulse. Hyder was elated by this his first success against the renowned English commander, and resolved to risk a general engagement. Though on the verge of eighty, he marched up to Cuddalore, a hundred miles in two days and a half, and took up a strong position in its neighbourhood, which he began to fortify. Coote, ignorant of the nature or strength of the enemy's works, resolved, as his last resource, to sally forth and attack them. His battering guns were sent on board the vessels lying off the town, together with every other impediment, and the troops marched to the assault with the remaining provisions, enough only for four days, on their backs. After advancing a little distance, Coote perceived a road which Hyder had been cutting through the sand hills the previous night, and immediately pushed his detachments through the gap in the teeth of a heavy cannonade. After a long and arduous engagement, of six hours'

duration, the valour of the British troops was rewarded by a complete victory, with the loss of only 300 men. The result of the action was most decisive. Hyder, who had lost 10,000 soldiers, abandoned his designs on Trichinopoly, and Tippoo raised the seige of Wandewash, which the gallant Flint still continued to defend.

Battle of Pollilore, 27th Aug., 1781.

The Bengal brigade sent down the coast under Colonel Pearce, had been recruited after the havoc of the cholera, and reached Pulicat, forty miles north of Madras, in July, 1781. Hyder detached Tippoo with a large force to intercept it, and Coote marched 150 miles from Porto Novo to form a junction with it, which he effected on the 2nd of August. A similar movement, even with less foresight and vigour on the part of Sir Hector Munro in the preceding year, would have saved Baillie's army from destruction. Hyder had unaccountably allowed Coote to march through the country without that obstruction which he could have offered at every step, but he determined to make up for his neglect by opposing his return with great vigour, and advanced with the whole of the Mysore army to the spot where a twelvemonth before he had exterminated Baillie's force. He considered this a most fortunate spot for another battle, and his astrologers predicted a certain victory, if it took place on the same lucky day of the same lunar month, the 11th Ramzan, or the 27th of August. The engagement, called after the neighbouring village, Pollilore, lasted throughout the day, but the result was doubtful, both parties firing a salute for victory. The action cost Hyder 2,000 men, while the loss on the side of the English was about 400. The next day, Coote's army was employed in the melancholy duty of interring the remains of Colonel Baillie's detachment in the same graves with their own dead. Vellore, one of the few fortresses left to the English, was at this time straitened for provisions, and the commandant represented the impossibility of holding out unless he was relieved. Coote advanced to raise the seige, and Hyder marched to

Battle of Solingur, 27th Sept., 1781.

prevent the attempt. The armies met again for the third time during the year at Solingur, on the 27th of September, 1781. Hyder having come to the conclusion that Coote could not, or would not, attack him on that day, had allowed his cattle and the drivers and followers to disperse, and the rapid movement of the British columns took him by surprise. Coote obtained a complete victory, which, owing to his admirable dispositions, involved the loss of only 100 men, while that of the Mysore army exceeded 5,000. Within a few days, however, Vellore was again reduced to extremity for supplies, and though the monsoon had set in, Coote made three forced marches, and provisioned it for three months. Hyder did not venture again to attack him, and the British army soon after retired into cantonments at Madras, after a campaign in which all the plans of Hyder were baffled by the consummate strategy of Coote, and Coote's expectations were defeated by the wretched state of his equipments and the total absence of a commissariat.

Lord Macarteny, governor of Madras, 1781.

The question of filling up the vacant chair at Madras now came up before the Court of Directors. In the brief period of seven years, two governors had been dismissed by them, and one suspended by Hastings, for gross misconduct, and a fourth had been deposed by his own Council, and died in confinement. The service was thoroughly demoralised; and it was, therefore, determined to try the experiment of placing the government in the hands of a new man, uncontaminated with the general corruption, and a stranger to all local associations, who might be expected to bring dignity to the office, and restore vigour to the administration. The choice fell on Lord Macarteny, a nobleman of much political experience, and imbued with a high sense of honour. He reached Madras on the 22nd of June, and brought the first intelligence of the declaration of war with the Dutch. Their principal settlement on the coast, at Negapatam, 160 miles south of Madras, was at the time garrisoned by a body of 6,500 troops, and Hyder Ali lost no time in

opening negotiations with the chief, which resulted in a treaty on the basis of mutual co-operation against the English. Lord Macarteny was anxious to prevent this formidable accession to the resources of Hyder, and resolved to attack the town, while he was able to reckon upon the assistance of the fleet, before the approaching change of the monsoon. Without abstracting a single soldier from the army of Sir Eyre Coote, who discountenanced the expedition, he drew together a force from Tanjore and Madras, and placed it under the command of Sir Hector Munro. The fleet contributed a large body of marines and seamen, to whose steadiness and gallantry the early surrender of the place was chiefly owing. It fell on the 12th of November, and was found to contain, in addition to a large quantity of military stores, two annual investments of great value. In the following January, Trincomalee, the noblest harbour in the island of Ceylon, was also wrested from the Dutch.

Capture of Negapatam, 1781, and Trincomalee, 1782.

Arrangement with Mahomed Ali, 2nd Dec., 1781.

The pressure of events on the coast forced the question of the Carnatic revenues on the consideration of the government at Madras and Calcutta. The heavy expenses of the war fell exclusively on the Company's treasury; the province itself contributed nothing to its own defence, as the Nabob and his creditors absorbed the little revenue which was raised. While the troops of Coote were on half rations, the officers of the Nabob were selling the provisions collected for their support, and remitting the proceeds to his private purse. All his efforts were directed to impede, and often to counteract, the movements of the British troops. Not a single soldier in his pay was sent to Coote's camp, while his officers betrayed every fort to the enemy; and his own brother made over the fortress of Chundergiree to Hyder, with all the grain stored in it—for a consideration. The venality and political profligacy of the Nabob's court, unmatched in India, was the constant theme of Coote's indignant remonstrance. The nuisance became at length in-

supportable, and the Nabob, after repeated evasions, was constrained to resign the revenues of the Carnatic for a period of five years, at the least, with a reservation of one-sixth for his personal expenditure and for his creditors.

Defeat of Brathwaite; success at Tellicherry, 1782.

Colonel Brathwaite, who had assisted at the capture of Negapatam, was subsequently employed in establishing the Nabob's authority in Tanjore, which Tippoo had been sent to ravage. The Colonel was encamped on the banks of the Coleroon, when, owing to the treachery of his guides who were all in the pay of the enemy, he was surprised by Tippoo, with 20,000 horse and foot, and 20 guns. The valour and constancy of British troops have seldom been more conspicuous than on this trying occasion. During twenty-six hours of unremitted conflict they sustained without flinching the repeated charges of the Mysore horse, and the fire of their cannon, but sunk at length from wounds and exhaustion, and would have been annihilated by the troops of Tippoo, but for the generous exertions of the French officers, who appreciated their heroism. This disaster was counterbalanced by a victory on the opposite coast. Tellicherry, a fortified factory, and the only English possession in Malabar, had sustained a siege of eighteen months by a Mysore force. Early in February, the garrison, which had been reinforced, made a sortie, and captured 1,200 of the enemy, together with all their baggage, equipments, and 60 pieces of cannon. The reverse thus inflicted on Hyder emboldened the conquered Nairs to rise throughout the province, and created a violent reaction in Coorg.

Hyder's despondency, 1781.

Hyder began to give way to despondency. He had been foiled in every engagement with Sir Eyre Coote in which he was not signally defeated. He was deceived, as he supposed, by his French allies, who had engaged to come to his assistance, but had failed him for twenty months. The revolt, kindled on the western coast, might extend to his capital. The Governor-General had succeeded in detaching Sindia, and the Nizam and Bhonslay from

the confederacy, and the Poona durbar now threatened to unite with the English, and compel him to accede to a peace which would deprive him of all the advantages of the war, unless he consented to resign to them the territories he had acquired between the Toombudra and the Kistna, and abandon all claims on the poligars south of that river. He disburdened his feelings to his minister, Poornea. He lamented his folly in having provoked a war with the English. There were, he admitted, mutual grounds of dissatisfaction, but still he might have made them his friends notwithstanding the intrigues of the wretched Nabob. "The defeat of many Brathwaites and many Baillies," he said, "will not crush them. I may ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea, and I must be exhausted by a war in which I can gain nothing by fighting." He resolved, therefore, to abandon all operations in the Carnatic, and to concentrate his efforts on the western coast. He had issued instructions for the entire destruction of the districts on the Coromandel coast, that he might leave no vestige of human habitation behind him, and had ordered the defences of Arcot to be undermined, when all these gloomy forebodings were at once dissipated by the appearance of the long expected French armament on the coast.

French expedition, 1781-82. Early in 1781, the French government made preparations for tbe despatch of a powerful fleet and army to India, under the command of the veteran Bussy, but the capture of two successive convoys by English cruizers retarded the execution of the plan. The first division at length reached the Mauritius, and was at once sent forward to the Coromandel coast. The death of the admiral during the voyage gave the command of the fleet to Suffrein, an officer of extraordinary enterprise and resources. He made the coast off Pulicat with twelve sail of the line and eighteen transports, as Admiral Hughes was returning in January, 1782, from the capture of Trincomalee. Hughes, who had only six vessels with him, was fortunately reinforced by three

others which had arrived from England, and bore down on the French squadron, and succeeded in cutting off six of the transports. The action was indecisive, and Suffrein proceeded to Porto Novo, where he landed 2,000 French soldiers and 1,000 Africans. Soon after, Hyder had an interview with the French commanders, when it was determined to attempt the reduction of Cuddalore, and await the arrival of Bussy for larger operations. The extensive fortifications of that place had been incautiously left in charge of only 400 sepoys and five artillerymen, and it surrendered without any show of resistance. A few weeks after, the important post of Permacoil was captured by Hyder. On the 12th of April, there was a second action between the fleets, but without any decisive result, and both the admirals were obliged to retire and refit their disabled vessels.

Action before Arnee, 2nd June, 1782.

Coote began now in his turn to despond; he considered the aspect of affairs, not only embarrassing, but even desperate. In the hope of bringing on a general action, he marched to Wandewash, which was besieged by the united armies of the French and of Hyder, but they refused the challenge, and retired to Pondicherry. With the view of drawing them from the position which they had strongly fortified, Coote determined to attempt the capture of Arnee, the chief depot of Hyder in the southern provinces. Tippoo was sent to protect it, and an engagement ensued on the 2nd of June, the only result of which was the capture of one gun and eleven tumbrils, while Hyder was enabled to accomplish his object of rescuing his treasure and stores from danger. Six weeks after, he drew a young officer, who had been entrusted with a large detachment, into an ambuscade, enveloped it with his cavalry, and inflicted on it the loss of two guns and 166 men.

Capture of Trincomalee, 31st August, 1782.

Suffrein now appeared before Negapatam, which he was desirous of obtaining as a depot for the French army. Hughes followed him, and a third naval engagement was fought on the 6th of July, with no

other result than to defeat the views of the French on that town. Suffrein retired to Cuddalore where he repaired the damage his fleet had sustained with incredible speed and energy, and then sailed southwards. Lord Macarteny had received intelligence that a second French force had arrived at Point de Galle, and that Bussy himself was immediately expected on the coast. He began to tremble for the safety both of Negapatam and Trincomalee, and urged Admiral Hughes to follow the French fleet with all expedition. But the energy of that officer by no means corresponded with his skill and courage, and he was, moreover, jealous of any interference with his command, and in this instance did not hesitate to sacrifice the interests of his country to his own caprice. Suffrein hastened to Galle, embarked the force of 2,400, which had recently arrived, and landed them at Trincomalee. The siege was pushed with extraordinary vigour, and the garrison was obliged to capitulate on the 31st of August, though on the most honourable terms. Four days later the dilatory Hughes looked into the harbour, and saw the French colours flying on the ramparts. The next day witnessed the fourth action between the two fleets, but though it lasted throughout the day, it terminated like all which had preceded it, without any result. The approach of darkness separated the combatants. This was the last and the severest naval engagement of the year, which was marked as much by the exertions of the fleets, as by the inactivity of the armies.

Hughes sails for Bombay, 15th October, 1782.

Admiral Hughes returned to Madras, and announced the necessity of proceeding forthwith to Bombay to refit his vessels, which had kept the sea during the monsoon of 1781, and had sustained serious damage in four successive general actions. The governor represented to him the desperate condition to which the interests of the Company would be reduced by his departure, and earnestly pressed him to remain. Hyder, he said, was master of the Carnatic; the possession of Trincomalee would

give the French the undisputed command of the sea, and enable them to intercept the supplies of grain, on which Madras depended for its existence. Bussy, moreover, was hourly expected with large reinforcements. But the admiral turned a deaf ear to every remonstrance, and, looking only to the safety of the fleet for which he was responsible, set sail for Bombay on the 15th of October. That same night the monsoon set in with a terrific gale; the shore was strewed for miles with wrecks; the largest vessels went down at their anchors, and a hundred coasting craft, laden with 30,000 bags of rice, were irretrievably lost. Four days after Admiral Bickerton anchored in the roads, and, after landing 4,000 troops which he had brought out from England, put to sea again to join his own commander. Madras was now subjected to all the horrors of famine. The ravages of Hyder had driven the wretched inhabitants of the surrounding district for shelter and subsistence into the town, and for some time the number of deaths amounted to 1,500 a week. Sir Eyre Coote's shattered constitution obliged him to return to Bengal, and the monsoon suspended all military operations.

Events on the Malabar Coast, 1782.

After the relief of Tellicherry, on the Malabar coast, and the defeat of the Mysore army in February, 1782, Colonel Humberstone, who had succeeded to the command of the force, marched southward and entirely routed Mukdoom Ali, Hyder's general and relative, whose loss exceeded 2,000 men. To create a diversion and relieve the pressure on the Company's army on the Coromandel coast, the colonel marched into the heart of the country to lay siege to Palghaut, one of the strongest of the fortresses which Hyder had erected in the south, but, on a close reconnoitre, found it less assailable than he had expected. Hyder lost no time in despatching Tippoo with a large force and a French contingent to drive back this invasion. But the Bombay government was no sooner informed of the colonel's hazardous advance into the interior, than they sent him peremptory orders to return to the coast. This

retrograde movement he considered a great misfortune, but it proved the salvation of his army. On the 19th of November Tippoo overtook the retiring force, which was constrained to fight every step of its march, and arrived at dusk on the banks of the Paniani; but, regarding them as a sure and easy prey, he neglected to watch their movements, and the colonel, having discovered a ford, passed his whole army over under cover of the night, and reached the town of Paniani the next day. On the 29th of November Tippoo made an assault in four columns on the British army, but was driven back with great loss. He then determined to blockade the force, and wait the arrival of his heavy equipments, when, on the 12th of December, his whole army was seen to strike its tents and march off to the eastward. A dromedary express had arrived the preceding evening with intelligence of the death of Hyder Ali. His health had been declining during the year, and his end was hastened by the fatigues of the field. He died at the advanced age of eighty, leaving behind him the reputation of one of the ablest, most enterprising, and most successful adventurers in the modern history of India.

Death of Hyder, 7th December, 1782.

Hyder's death concealed, 1782.

Poornea, a Mahratta brahmin, the ablest of Hyder's ministers, in conjunction with his distinguished colleague, Kishen Rao, a Canarese brahmin, assumed the management of affairs, and acted with consummate prudence. Tippoo, the son and successor of Hyder, was four hundred miles distant, and an Asiatic army, deprived of its head, always becomes a scene of intrigue and confusion. Hyder's death was therefore carefully concealed in the camp. The body was embalmed and sent under an escort to the capital, as it had been usual to despatch chests of valuable plunder. All answers to letters were issued, and all orders published in his name, and his closed palanquin, with the accustomed retinue, moved out at the usual hour from the canvas inclosure of his tent. Tippoo, on receiving intelligence of his father's death, immediately abandoned the western campaign,

and hastened to join the army on the Coramandel coast, which he reached on the 2nd of January. The troops were gratified by the payment of arrears, and a liberal donative; the ministers who had maintained the royal authority at this difficult crisis were confirmed in office; and Tippoo at once succeeded to the command of a splendid army of 100,000 men, and to a treasury filled with three crores of rupees, besides an accumulation of jewels and valuables, which Poornea declared to be of countless value.

Tippoo returns to Malabar, 1st March, 1783.

Far different was the course of events at Madras. The same fatality which had marked the proceedings of the Presidency for the last fifteen years, seemed still to influence its councils. There was a vigorous governor, but an imbecile general. Sir Eyre Coote's departure for Bengal had placed the army under the charge of General Stuart, and Lord Macarteny entreated him to take advantage of the consternation occasioned by the death of Hyder, to attack the Mysore army before the arrival of Tippoo. The general had never ceased to obstruct every movement since he succeeded to the command of the army, and he now affected to disbelieve the report of Hyder's death, and when it could no longer be a matter of dispute, refused to move until the "proper time," of which he considered himself the sole judge. The golden opportunity of striking a decisive blow was thus lost, and the war prolonged for fifteen months. General Stuart had the entire conduct of the war in his hands, with an increased army and liberal supplies; but sixty days were suffered to elapse after the death of Hyder, before he could be persuaded to move, and even then, he did nothing but demolish the fortifications of three forts which Sir Eyre Coote had been anxious to preserve. The anxiety which his incapacity created, was, however, happily relieved by the abrupt departure of Tippoo. The alarming intelligence which he received of the progress of a British force on the western coast, induced him to proceed in person to meet the danger, with the

flower of his army, after having destroyed the works at Arcot, and, indeed, every remaining post except Arnee. Bussy was hourly expected with large reinforcements, and if the entire Mysore army had been strengthened by a European force, directed by the genius of that commander, Madras, entrusted to the wretched Stuart, would have been in imminent peril. From this danger the Presidency was rescued by the injudicious movement of Tippoo. Leaving him to pursue his course to the western coast, we continue the narrative of events around Madras.

Bussy's arrival. Coote's death, 1783.

The plans of Bussy had been impeded by a succession of untoward events; but although, on landing at Cuddalore on the 10th of April, 1783, he found himself at the head of 2,300 Europeans and 5,000 French sepoys, he had also the mortification to find that Hyder was dead, and that Tippoo had gone to the opposite coast, leaving a force of only 3,500 men to co-operate with him. Admiral Hughes had also returned with his fleet to the coast, and General Stuart, having no longer any excuse for delay, marched towards Cuddalore, with a fine park of artillery, and 14,500 men, of whom 3,000 were Europeans. Nothing was wanting to the efficiency of this splendid force, except a commander; and the troops were, therefore, looking with the greatest eagerness for their venerable and beloved general, Sir Eyre Coote, again to lead them on to victory; but the veteran died two days after his arrival at Madras, on the 26th of April. The expedition moved towards Cuddalore under the command of General Stuart, but only at the rate of three miles a day. He sat down before that fortified town on the 7th of June, and on the 13th, attacked a formidable position of the French, who were obliged to retire to the citadel, with the loss of thirteen guns. The honour of the day was due to the extraordinary gallantry of the subordinate officers and men; but it was dearly purchased by the loss of 62 officers and 920 Europeans, killed or mortally wounded. On the same day, Suffrein appeared in the offing,

with sixteen vessels, and Admiral Hughes, who was anchored off Porto Novo, came up to meet him with eighteen ships. Notwithstanding this apparent superiority over the French, he was essentially weaker, as no fewer than 2,700 of his sailors were disabled by scurvy. Suffrein had borrowed 1,200 soldiers from Bussy, and the two fleets met on the 20th of June, but the severe action which ensued, like the four which had preceded it, was without any decisive result. Night again parted the combatants, and Hughes finding his vessels crippled, his crews dying of scurvy, and his supply of water running short, bore up for Madras to refit; while Suffrein, not only restored the 1,200 men lent him by Bussy, but reinforced the French army with 2,400 marines and sailors from his fleet. With this addition to his force, Bussy made a sortie in the dark on the 25th of June, but was repulsed with the loss of 450 men. It was on this occasion that the young and gallant French serjeant, Bernadotte, who subsequently became one of Napoleon's marshals, and king of Sweden, fell into the hands of the English. General Stuart had been bustling about Cuddalore for three weeks, and yet the siege could scarcely be said to have commenced. His force was daily wasting away from sickness, fatigue and wounds; while Bussy, strengthened by the reinforcement from the fleet, and having free communication with the country around, was waiting for the maturity of his errors to strike some decisive blow. Considering the great talents of Bussy, and the incompetency of Stuart, there is every reason to apprehend that it would have resulted in the discomfiture and retreat of the English army, the loss of its battering train and baggage, perhaps also, in the siege of Madras. From this danger, the Company was happily relieved by the arrival of intelligence that peace had been concluded in Europe between the belligerents, and all military operations immediately ceased. General Stuart returned to Madras, and was placed under arrest by Lord Macartney, and sent to England. He was the officer who had been employed eight years before in the clan-

destine arrest of Lord Pigot, and among the epigrams to which his own arrest gave rise, that of the Nabob's second son was by no means the least racy: "General Stuart catch one lord, one lord catch General Stuart."

Expedition from Bombay, 1783.

The abrupt departure of Tippoo to the western coast was occasioned by the success of an expedition sent from Bombay against his possessions in that quarter. General Matthews had been despatched to the succour of Colonel Humberstone at Paniani, but, on hearing of the withdrawal of Tippoo's army, proceeded along the coast, and took possession of the towns of Mirjee and Onore. During this expedition, five of the Mysore ships of war, carrying from fifty to sixty-four guns, fell into the hands of the British admiral. The Bombay President, having received intelligence of the death of Hyder, directed General Matthews to march at once against Bednore. The general disapproved of the movement, which he considered injudicious and dangerous, but instead of entering into explanations with his superiors, proceeded doggedly to execute it, simply disclaiming all responsibility. The ascent of the ghauts, which had been fortified at every point, presented the most formidable obstacles to an invading force, but the gallantry of the 42nd Highlanders, led by Colonel Macleod, carried all the lower defences, and the army arrived in front of Bednore, when, to the utter astonishment of the general, the place was unconditionally surrendered to him. It afterwards transpired that Hyat Sahib, as he was called by the English, the Mysore commander, who had been a favourite of Hyder, and was consequently regarded with feelings of hatred by Tippoo, had obtained the sight of a letter directed by him to one of the officers in Bednore, ordering him to deprive Hyat of the command, and, if necessary, to put him to death; and Hyat immediately made arrangements for delivering up the fortress and the district to the English.

Siege of Mangalore, 1783.

It was the tidings of this transaction which induced Tippoo to quit the Carnatic, and bend his at-

tention to the expulsion of the English force from the western provinces, justly fearing lest they should be transferred to the Mahrattas, whom Hastings was urging to attack him. General Matthews, instead of concentrating his force, which did not exceed 1,600, at the most defensible point, frittered it away in small detachments, and the troops were allowed to disperse over the country in search of plunder. Bednore was, however, defended with great valour, and it was not surrendered till it had become a heap of ruins, and further resistance was hopeless. The capitulation was violated as usual, and the men and officers were marched off in irons, and consigned to dungeons. Tippoo fired a salute for this his first victory over the English troops, and then descended to the coast and invested Mangalore, the siege of which is one of the most memorable events of the war. The strength of the garrison, at the commencement of it was only 1,850, while the investing force under Tippoo amounted to 100,000 with 100 guns. The command of the fort had devolved on Colonel Campbell, of the 42nd Highlanders, and a brighter name is not to be found in the annals of British India. It would exceed the limits which can be assigned to this memorable conflict in this brief epitome, to enter into any detail of the siege, or to describe how General Macleod, who was twice sent to relieve it, was, on each occasion, cajoled by Tippoo and left his task incomplete, and how an intermediate convention was disgracefully violated and the privations of the brave garrison augmented. It may be sufficient to state that the colonel and his troops defended the place for nine months with unsurpassed resolution against the whole army of Tippoo, and did not capitulate until their number was reduced to 850, and those mere skeletons.

Progress of Colonel Fullarton, 1783.

Whilst Tippoo was thus wasting his strength and his reputation in a siege which cost him half his army, the absence of a Mysore army from the southern provinces, and the peace with France, enabled the Madras government to send a powerful force across the Pe-

ninsula into the heart of Mysore. This able plan was devised and executed by Colonel Fullarton, who had embraced the military profession late in life, but exhibited talents of a very high order, and would have brought the war with Tippoo to an honourable termination, if he had not been thwarted by the folly of the Madras authorities. His force consisted of 13,600 men, but the native portion of it was twelve months in arrears. On the 15th of November, he captured the renowned fortress of Palghaut, and on the 26th occupied Coimbatoor; on the 28th, he had made every preparation for an immediate advance on Seringapatam, while the Mysore army was detained before Mangalore. The capital was within his grasp, but before night he received orders not only to suspend operations, but to relinquish all the districts he had occupied. To explain this singular requisition, it is to be remarked that while Hastings was engaged in urging the Mahrattas, in accordance with the treaty of Salbye, to compel Tippoo to make peace on pain of hostilities, Lord Macarteny, in defiance of the prohibition of the Supreme Government, to which, on such questions, he was entirely subordinate, opened negotiations with Tippoo, and by a singular infatuation, voluntarily agreed to a suspension of arms till a reply was received. So ignorant was the Governor of Madras of native habits, as not to know that any direct offer of peace to a native prince, rendered peace on honourable terms impossible. Tippoo took no notice of the proposals for three months, and then sent one of the most astute of his officers to cozen the President and Council at Madras. After a month passed in jesuitical diplomacy, the envoy proposed that two gentlemen should be deputed to Tippoo to expedite the negotiations. The silly Council swallowed the bait, and even affirmed that this was a proposal which exactly met their wishes. The object of Tippoo was gained, and he was thus enabled to represent at every durbar in India that the English government had sent commissioners all the way from Madras to Mangalore to sue for peace. It

was at this period and under the influence of this agent, that the commissioners instructed Colonel Fullarton to suspend hostilities, and evacuate his conquests; but he had just heard of the perfidious violation of the convention of Mangalore, and though he ceased to prosecute the war, determined to retain the districts he had conquered. Discussions soon after arose between the envoy of Tippoo and the commissioners, regarding the release of the prisoners and the surrender of Mangalore, which were referred to Lord Macarteny. On the 8th of December the Council met and reviewed their position; their finances were ruined, their credit was broken, and the confidence of the Supreme Government was gone. But, instead of ordering Colonel Fullarton with his powerful army to push on to Tippoo's capital, while he was occupied at Mangalore, and end the war by one bold stroke, they directed him to relinquish all his conquests, and retire within the limits which they prescribed, although Tippoo's officers had violated their engagements, and retained all the districts they had overrun in the Carnatic, which they were equally bound to evacuate. The missionary Swartz met Colonel Fullarton at the foot of the ghauts as he was marching back, and exclaimed with astonishment, "Is the peace so certain that you quit all before the negotiation is ended. The possession of these two countries would have kept Tippoo in awe, and inclined him to reasonable terms. But you quit the reins, and how will you manage the beast?" The Colonel replied, I cannot help it. Hastings, with his profound knowledge of the native character, reprobated the negotiation, and considered that it should have been entrusted to Colonel Fullerton, and conducted at the head of his army, at the capital. But Hastings was now comparatively powerless. The Court of Directors, a prey to intrigue, had recently renewed their condemnation of his conduct, his own Council deserted him, Lord Macarteny set him at defiance, and the negotiations with Tippoo were left to the mismanagement of Madras. The commissioners were marched leisurely through the country,

subjected to every indignity and detained at every stage, till Mangalore had surrendered, when they were allowed to approach the Mysore camp. And there, after having been again insulted by the erection of three gibbets in front of their tents, they at length signed the treaty, on the basis of a mutual restitution of conquests. Of the prisoners who had fallen into the hands of Hyder and Tippoo, the most distinguished had been taken off by poison, or hacked to pieces in the woods; but 190 officers and 900 European soldiers still survived the barbarous treatment to which they had been subjected for several years, and were now liberated. Of the treaty, it may be sufficient to say that it was not more disgraceful than those which the Governors and Council of Madras had been in the habit of making for the last fifteen years. It was injurious not only to the character of the British government, but also to the interests of peace, inasmuch as it entailed the necessity of another war to correct the arrogance with which it inspired Tippoo, and to which he gave expression in the following terms: "On the occasion of the signature of the treaty, the English commissioners stood with their heads uncovered, and the treaty in their hands, for two hours, using every form of flattery and supplication to induce compliance. The vakeels of Poona and Hyderabad united in the most abject entreaties, and his Majesty, the shadow of God, was at length softened into assent."

CHAPTER XV.

HASTINGS'S ADMINISTRATION—THE SUPREME COURT—PROCEEDINGS IN ENGLAND, 1774—1784.

Supreme Court and the zemindars, 1774-1780.

To resume the thread of events in Bengal. The Supreme Court, established by the wisdom of Parliament in Calcutta, in 1774, was intended to

protect the natives from the oppression of Europeans, and to give the English community the blessing of their own laws. The judges were invested with the attributes of the twelve judges in Westminster, and empowered to administer English law in all its branches. Parliament had thus, without any correct knowledge of the circumstances or wants of the new conquest, established two independent powers, but had neglected to define the sphere of their authority, and a collision between the government of the Company and the judicial officers of the Crown, became inevitable. One of the earliest acts of the Court was to hang Nundu koomar for an offence which had not been capital since the days of Munoo. The next blow fell on the zemindars. The country was slowly recovering from the confusion incident to the introduction of a novel and foreign administration, and the zemindars were but partially reconciled to the new economy. The Supreme Court, as soon as it was established, began to issue writs against them, at the suit of any one who could fee an attorney, on the strength of which they were immediately seized in their own cutcheries, or rent-courts, and dragged down to Calcutta from a distance, sometimes, of several hundred miles, and consigned to jail if they were unwilling, or unable, to furnish bail. No indemnification was given to them for the expense or disgrace they had incurred, even when their arrest was cancelled for illegality. Of English law, then the most complicated system of jurisprudence in the world, they were profoundly ignorant, and they felt that no innocence and no ingenuity was able to protect them from the new dangers which menaced them. A dark cloud hung over the country, as portentous as a Mahratta invasion.

The Court's interference with the Government, 1775-79.

These proceedings necessarily affected the collection of the revenue, and endangered the resources of government. The disposition to withhold every payment, however just, is inherent in the native character, and the slightest pretext is sufficient to develope it. The arrest and humiliation of the

zemindars destroyed their credit and authority, and gave their unscrupulous ryots an advantage they were not slow to improve. It had, moreover, been the immemorial custom in India to subject defaulters to coercion, without which they rarely paid their rents; but the attorneys of the Supreme Court, who had spread themselves over the country, advised the ryots and renters when arrested, to sue out a writ of *habeas corpus*, when they were brought down to Calcutta and discharged, leaving the landlord without rent or remedy. The criminal judicature of the country, which embraced the police of thirty millions of people, had been left in the hands of the Nabob of Moorshedabad and his judicial and executive officers. But the authority of their courts was at once annihilated by the judges of the Supreme Court, who declared that the person called Mobarik-ood-dowlah, that is, the Nabob of Moorshedabad, was a phantom, a mere man of straw, without any legal right to the exercise of any power whatsoever. In one instance, indeed, the Court proceeded so far as to issue a process of contempt against his Highness. The next blow was aimed at the government itself, though it had been established under the authority of Parliament. The judges refused to acknowledge the East India Company except as a trading body, with no other power or position than an ordinary commercial association. They interpreted the Act to signify that the government of the country by the Governor-General in Council was subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and that it would be penal for the Company, or any of its servants, to disobey any order or process emanating from it. There was no department of the state with which they did not see fit to interfere; the whole fabric of the administration was shaken to its basis, and the country was threatened with universal anarchy, simply to enlarge the jurisdiction of the Crown court, and to exalt the authority of its judges.

The Cossijurah case, 1779.

To enumerate the various instances of injustice and oppression to which the enforcement of these

claims gave rise would exceed the limits of this epitome, and one must suffice as a sample. A baboo named Cossinath was instigated to bring an action in the Supreme Court in August, 1779, against his master, the raja of Cossijurah, lying to the south of Calcutta. A writ was issued on the strength of his affidavit, and the raja was required to find bail to the extent of three lacs and a half of rupees. He concealed himself to avoid the process, upon which the Court immediately despatched two sheriff's officers, with a body of eighty-six men, of whom thirteen were European sailors, and the rest natives habited as sepoys, and all armed with muskets or swords. On their arrival at Cossijurah, they forced their way into the palace of the raja, maltreated his servants, violated the sanctity of the zenana, and desecrated his family temple, packing up the idol with other lumber in a basket, and affixing the seal of the Court to it. Hastings considered that the time had at length arrived when he could no longer delay to vindicate the authority of the government, and afford protection to the natives, whatever might be the hazard attending it. He instructed the military officer at Midnapore to intercept the whole party on their return, and march them to Calcutta, where they were immediately liberated. To prevent similar outrages which were then meditated, he likewise issued a proclamation, directing all landholders of every degree to consider themselves exempt from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, except in the two cases of their having bound themselves by agreement to submit to it, or being British subjects. The Supreme Court then proceeded to issue a summons against the Governor-General himself and the members of the Supreme Council, but they peremptorily refused to obey it.

Sir E Impey and the Sudder Court, 1780.

Petitions were now addressed to Parliament by both Europeans and natives, praying for a redress of these intolerable grievances. But as the remedy might be long in coming, the sagacity of Hastings discovered a more immediate antidote. The Provincial Ocun-

cils established in 1773, held both revenue and civil courts; and an appeal from their decisions lay to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, or chief court of appeal in Calcutta, in which the Governor-General and the Council were appointed to preside, which, however, their political and administrative duties seldom allowed them to do. In April, 1780, Hastings remodelled the whole system, separated the fiscal from the civil jurisdiction, leaving the former with the Provincial courts, and entrusting the latter to the civil courts which he established in each district, with an appeal to the Sudder Dewanny. He then offered the post of chief judge of this court to Sir Elijah Impey, upon a salary of 7,000 rupees a month, which was accepted without any hesitation. This appointment, together with that of another of the Crown judges as Commissioner of the Dutch settlement of Chinsurah, which had been recently captured, at once quieted the Supreme Court, and released the Government from its embarrassments.

Remarks on this arrangement, 1780.

The position in which this arrangement placed the Chief Justice, proved highly advantageous to the interests of the country. The judges of the new civil courts who were young and inexperienced, were placed under his supervision and guidance, and he was thus enabled to give form and consistency to the system of civil judicature. Though bred in all the technicalities of English law, he drew up a code of regulations for the administration of justice in the interior, comprised in ninety-five sections, brief and clear, and exactly adapted to the simplicity of native habits; and it has formed the basis of all subsequent legislation at the Bengal Presidency. But this arrangement was assailed with great animosity, both in the Court of Directors and in the House of Commons. Sir Elijah was recalled for having accepted the office, and Hastings was eventually impeached, in addition to the other crimes charged against him, for having conferred it. But, after the lapse of eighty years, the wisdom of this proceeding has been triumphantly vindicated by the Parliamentary enactment of 1860, which

placed the Chief justice of the Supreme Court at the head of the Company's Court of Appeal, and by amalgamating the two Courts, committed to him the duty of supervising the judicial system of the Presidency. On the receipt of the petitions from Calcutta before alluded to, Parliament passed an Act in which the functions of the Supreme Court were more distinctly defined, and it continued from that period to the hour of its extinction, to enjoy the confidence and admiration of the entire community, European and native, for the equity and impartiality of its decisions.

Cheyt Sing's delinquency, 1780.

The pecuniary difficulties of the government of Bengal were at this time most critical. There was war with Hyder, who was triumphant in the Carnatic; war with the French, with the Dutch, and with the Mahrattas. The entire expense of all these wars fell upon the treasury in Bengal; a debt of a crore of rupees had been incurred, and the credit of Government was at the lowest ebb. Hastings was under the necessity of looking to other sources than the ordinary revenues of the country for supplies, and he was induced to make an additional demand on Cheyt Sing, the raja of Benares. The grandfather of the raja had begun life with the rent of half a village, but amidst the distraction of the times, had succeeded in acquiring a territory, which yielded 50 lacs of rupees a year. The district was transferred by the Nabob Vizier to the British government in 1775, and the rajah received a sunnud from the Governor-General, which stipulated that his annual tribute should be limited to twenty-two lacs and a-half a year. Hastings's demand was therefore stigmatised by his opponents as a breach of faith. But the tenure of Benares was more that of a feudatory than of a mere zemindar, which appears evident from the fact, that Hastings, when irritated by his opposition, threatened to reduce him to the condition of a simple zemindar, like the raja of Burdwan. By the law and constitution of India, he was liable, in cases of emergency, to be called on for extraordinary aids by his superior lord. Such payments had formerly been

made to his liege, the Nabob of Oude, and he was equally bound to meet the requisition made upon him on the present emergency by Hastings, of 2,000 horse and five lacs of rupees. The rajah pleaded poverty, and endeavoured to evade the payment of the full amount, but Hastings had received intimation from various quarters that his hoards exceeded two crores of rupees, and he persuaded himself that the rajah's reluctance to comply with his demands, was a crime. He determined, therefore, "to make him pay largely for his pardon, to exact a severe vengeance for his delinquency, and to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the Company's distresses."

Cheyt Sing's excessive fine, 1781.

Hastings was about to proceed to Benares to meet the vakeel of the raja of Berar, and negotiate a peace with the Regency at Poona. Cheyt Sing was fully apprised of his resentment, and hastened to avert it by waiting on him as he entered the province, and humbly beseeching him to accept twenty lacs of rupees. The offer was rejected with scorn, and the sum of fifty lacs peremptorily demanded. On his arrival at Benares on the 15th of August, 1781, Hastings sent the raja a statement of his complaints, and placed him under arrest, by sending four companies of sepoys to take the place of his own guards. The city of Benares, the citadel of Hindooism, and the great focus of political intrigue, had always been notorious for its turbulence. On the present occasion, the populace, roused by the indignity inflicted on the raja, rose upon the sepoys, who had brought no ammunition with them, and slaughtered both them and their officers. During this *émeute*, the raja himself escaped across the river to his fortified palace at Ramnugur. The situation of Hastings was perilous in the extreme; the native force on which he depended for protection was annihilated, and he, and the thirty gentlemen with him, had only their own weapons to trust to. Happily the infuriated retainers of the raja crowded tumultuously after him, and quitted the city, instead of attacking Hastings in his

defenceless state. The whole province was speedily in a blaze of revolt, and the zemindars of Behar, who had ever been disaffected towards the English, were ripe for insurrection. It was at this critical period, while beleaguered in Benares, that Hastings exhibited his rare strength of nerve, by continuing and completing his negotiations with Sindia, as if he had been tranquilly residing in Calcutta. Equally remarkable was the confidence that Sindia manifested in the destinies of the English, by affixing his seal to the treaty, while he knew that the life of the Governor-General was in jeopardy. His situation at Benares, notwithstanding the rapid arrival of troops from different quarters, was not, however, considered defensible, and he made his escape during the night, by a window, and rowed down to Chunar.

Capture of Bidgegur, 9th Nov., 1781.

The raja collected a force of 20,000 men, but did not cease to importune Hastings for a reconciliation, which was wisely rejected, lest it should be attributed to fear. The raja's troops were successively defeated, and he took refuge in Bidgegur, but not deeming himself safe there, fled to Bundlecund with as much treasure as his elephants and camels could carry. The begums, who were left behind, surrendered the fortress on the 9th of November. In a private letter to the commander of the troops, in reference to the treasure which was supposed to be deposited in Bidgegur, Hastings had incautiously remarked, "With regard to the booty, that is rather your consideration than mine. I should be sorry that any of your officers and soldiers lost any part of the reward to which they are so well entitled." On the strength of this communication, the officers proceeded at once to divide the booty, amounting to forty lacs of rupees, among themselves and the troops. Hastings was especially mortified at the loss of the treasure with which he had hoped to replenish the empty treasury of the Company. The officers were invited to return it, and to leave their claims to the equitable decision of the Supreme Council, but they manifested their discretion by refusing to

trust their interests to the arbitrement of a pauper government. In extenuation of the odious proceedings of Hastings towards Cheyt Sing, it was asserted that he was disaffected to the British Government; but, in this case, Hastings would not have ventured to enter the capital with so slender an escort. Cheyt Sing was culpable in having hesitated to afford immediate aid to his liege sovereign in a great public exigency, but the imposition of a fine of fifty lacs of rupees for withholding payment of one-tenth of the sum, had an aspect of vindictiveness which it is impossible to palliate; and although Hastings was so blinded by his own judgment as to claim merit for the transaction, it has always been considered a dark spot in his administration, and it will hereafter appear that it was on this point that the question of his impeachment eventually turned. Cheyt Sing enjoyed an asylum at Gwalior for twenty-nine years. His nephew was raised to the throne, and the tribute augmented from twenty-two and a half to forty lacs a year.

The begums of Oude, 1782.

The disappointment which Hastings had experienced regarding these treasures increased his embarrassment. The treasury in Calcutta was drained for the support of more than sixty thousand troops required for the war at Bombay and Madras, and money was indispensable. It was in these circumstances that the Nabob vizier waited on him at Chunar, and represented the impossibility of making good from his exhausted country the arrears of a crore and a half of rupees due to the Company, and of continuing to maintain the English troops stationed in his dominions. But these troops were indispensably necessary to their defence, and the withdrawal of them would have been immediately followed by a Mahratta invasion. He entreated Hastings to relieve him from the charge of at least one brigade, and to allow him to take possession of the wealth and the jaygeers of the begums, to enable him to discharge his obligations to the Company. Hastings subsequently affirmed that if the Vizier had not made this proposal, he himself would never

have suggested it. At the same time, it was represented to him that the begums had abetted the rebellion, as he called it, of Cheyt Sing, and supplied him with troops and money. The charge rested chiefly on the assertion of one Colonel Hannay, who had obtained service with the Nabob vizier, and fleeced him to the extent of thirty lacs of rupees in three years. It was supported by affidavits taken before Sir Elijah Impey, the chief judge of the Supreme Court, who proceeded to Lucknow for the purpose;—a most extraordinary pilgrimage, as was justly said, for a most extraordinary purpose—yet it was utterly without foundation. But under the pressure of circumstances, Hastings brought himself round to the belief that "the begums had made war on the Company;" he yielded to the solicitation of the Vizier, and his consent to the spoliation of the princesses was duly embodied in a treaty. The Nabob returned to Lucknow, and after some little hesitation, to save appearances and to throw the odium of the transaction on the Governor-General, surrounded the palace of the begums with guards, seized and fettered the two eunuchs who were their confidential ministers, sequestered their estates, and extorted, at several times, sums to the amount of seventy-six lacs of rupees, which were paid over to the Company.* To these treasures and jaygeers the begums had originally no legitimate title, as we have explained in a preceding chapter; they were state property, liable for the obligations of the state; but six years had elapsed since the Nabob—however reluctantly it matters not—had assigned them to the begums, under the official guarantee of the representative of the Governor-General. The coercive measure now adopted admits therefore of no moral extenuation. Yet so little was Hastings alive to the objectionable character of this transaction, that he ridiculed the censure which "men of virtue" might cast upon it. But the men of virtue and of political integrity in his own land have regarded it as a stain on his administration, however consonant it may have been with the Mahomedan law of

succession, or the practice of Oriental courts. As to the barbarities practised on the begums and their servants by the Nabob, Hastings cannot be held personally answerable for them; the odium which they have fixed on his administration, was the revenge of civilization for an alliance with barbarism, for a most objectionable object.

Fyzoolla Khan, 1780. Fyzoolla Khan, the Rohilla chieftain, was, in 1774, left in possession of Rampoora and several other jaygeers, of the annual value of fifteen lacs of rupees. He devoted his attention with great zeal to the encouragement of agriculture and the improvement of the country, and with such success as to double his rent-roll in seven years, without overtaxing his subjects. He was bound by treaty not to increase his military force beyond 5,000 men, of whom 3,000 were to be at the disposal of the Nabob vizier, when he happened to be engaged in war. In November, 1780, Hastings, distracted by the intelligence of Colonel Baillie's defeat, instructed the Vizier to demand the aid of 5,000 troops for the defence of Behar, to liberate the English regiments for service at Madras. Fyzoolla Khan, with all humility, made an offer of 2,000 horse and 1,000 foot. Hastings, who always expected prompt obedience to his requisitions, was exasperated at this hesitation, and under the alarm created by Cheyt Sing's proceedings, assented, without adequate consideration, to the request made by the Vizier to dispossess Fyzoolla Khan of the whole of his zemindary and annex it to his own dominions: but he soon after discovered and acknowledged the error he had committed in this interpretation of the treaty, revoked the permission he had given to the Vizier, and released Fyzoolla Khan from the obligation of furnishing any quota of troops in future, on the payment of fifteen lacs of rupees.

Censure of the Directors; Hastings resigns, 1783–5. These proceedings were severely condemned by the Court of Directors who pronounced the demand on Cheyt Sing, a breach of faith, and ordered him to be restored to his estates. Under the in-

fluence of this vote of censure Hastings's colleagues in Council not only withdrew their support from him, but became united in their opposition to him, and he complained, with great reason that while he was still held responsible for the safety of India, his degradation had been proclaimed at every court in India. "If," he said, "I am to be threatened with dismission, my acts reprobated, the whole responsibility of the government thrown on me, with only an equal voice in Council, I cannot discharge my trust with credit or effect." In a letter to the Court of Directors of the 20th of March, 1783, after appealing to them to attest the patience and temper with which he had submitted to all the indignities heaped upon him during his long service, he announced his determination to quit their service, and requested that a successor might be immediately nominated. During the year 1784 he proceeded to Lucknow, and in compliance with the requisition of the Court of Directors, restored the jaygeers to the begums, through the agency of the Nabob vizier. He adjusted all accounts between Oude and the Company, made every arrangement for the payment of the English troops employed in its defence, and then withdrew the Residency, which had become odious to the Vizier by its interference with his government, not less than by its depredations. On his return to Calcutta, Hastings addressed valedictory letters to all the princes and chiefs of India, and having laid the keys of the treasury on the table of the Council Board, and delivered the keys of the fort to his successor, Mr. Macpherson, embarked for England in February, 1785, after a most eventful administration of thirteen years.

Hastings's reception in England, 1785.

Hastings reached England on the 13th of June, and experienced the most gracious reception from the King and Queen; and even the Court of Directors greeted him with a courteous address. By one of the most influential members of the House of Lords, he was described as the Company's great minister—the powerful Chatham of

the east. The Ministry, with one exception, evinced the most friendly disposition towards him, and the preeminent services he had rendered to his country in the East fully justified his expectations of a peerage. But that exception was fatal to all his hopes. Mr. Pitt, the prime minister, had imbibed a vehement prejudice against him. He admitted that he was a great and wonderful man, and that the charges against him were ridiculous and absurd; but, he had committed four transgressions—he had attempted to extend the British dominions in India, which the minister highly disapproved of; he had forfeited the confidence of the native princes; he had disobeyed the orders of the Court of Directors; and he had fixed enormous salaries to offices in India. There was, moreover, an adverse resolution on the records of the House of Commons, and until it was done away with by a vote of thanks for his great services, Mr. Pitt affirmed that he could not advise his Majesty to confer any honour on him; yet the minister's favourite colleague, Mr. Dundas, with whom that damnatory vote originated, had subsequently declared, that Hastings's conduct was worthy of every praise he could bestow, and of every support his Majesty's ministers could afford him; and he went so far as expressly to pronounce him the saviour of India. As to the vote of thanks, Mr. Pitt had only to propose it to the House, and it would have been carried by acclamation.

Commencement of his impeachment, 20th June, 1785.

Seven days after Hastings landed in England, Mr. Burke, one of the most distinguished leaders of the Whigs, gave notice in the House of Commons that he would on a future day, make a motion regarding the conduct of a gentleman recently returned from India. But a meeting of the party was held soon after, and it was resolved, with great unanimity, to be unadvisable to embark in a crusade against him. There was therefore every reason to conclude that the menace of a prosecution would have blown over, but for the imprudence and arrogance of Major John Scott, the confidential agent and

evil genius of Hastings. Like other retired Indians of ample fortune he had purchased a borough and entered Parliament. On the first day of the ensuing session of 1786, he rose and defied Burke to make good his threat. After this challenge, Burke had no option but to pursue his intention, and he entered upon the impeachment with all the ardour of his enthusiastic nature. His political associates, who had been lukewarm on the subject, felt themselves bound in honour to rally round and support him; and this celebrated trial is thus traced up to the mistaken zeal of Hastings's own friend, Major Scott, who emphatically "bullied" Burke into the prosecution. His first motion was for the production of papers, but the House resolved, that he should state his case before he applied for documents to support it.

Charges against Hastings, 4th April, 1786.

On the 4th of April, Burke brought forward eleven charges, to which eleven others were subsequently added. For many years he had made the politics and the people of India and their ancient history his particular study, and no man in the House has ever been more familiar with all questions relating to that country. He was a worshipper of ancient institutions and dynasties, and having followed the career of Hastings step by step, gradually contracted a feeling of personal animosity towards him, for his attempts to subvert them in the East. But all the materials of the charges were supplied by Mr. Francis, Hastings's rancorous opponent in India, who had obtained a seat in Parliament, and determined to hunt him down with all the rancour which might have been expected from the writer of Junius's letters. After the charges had been introduced, Hastings obtained permission to be heard in reply, and on the 1st of May appeared at the bar, bending beneath the weight of a document more prolix than even a Bengal dispatch. He read on till he was exhausted, when the clerks of the House came to his aid, and mumbled through its interminable pages, the reading of which required a second day. The only impression produced on the House was one of weari-

ness and impatience; yet so ignorant was Hastings of English sensibilities as to persuade himself that the idea of the reply was conceived in a happy hour, and by a blessed inspiration, and that "it instantly turned all minds to his own way."

The three principal charges, 1786.

Of the twenty-two charges, only three were of any serious importance, and they referred to the first Rohilla war, to Cheyt Sing, and to the begums of Oude. The rest—such as that of having in six revolutions, brought the fertile and beautiful provinces of Furruckabad to a state of the most deplorable ruin, and of having impoverished and depopulated Oude, and rendered the country, which was once a garden, an uninhabited desert,—were the mere litter of Mr. Francis's malignity. The first charge accused him of having "hired British soldiers for the purpose of extirpating the innocent and helpless people inhabiting the Rohillas." But the first Rohilla war had received the approbation of the Court of Directors; it had taken place fourteen years before, and whatever might have been its criminality, Parliament had condoned it by subsequently reappointing Hastings Governor-General. Mr. Dundas explained that when he proposed a vote of censure to the House on this transaction, he considered it sufficient for the recall of Hastings; but he had never supposed that it involved the necessity of a prosecution. Both he and Mr. Pitt voted against the charge, and it was consequently negatived by 119 to 67. The charge of wanton cruelty and extortion against the raja of Benares, was brought forward by Fox, in a speech of surpassing ability, but he rested his argument solely on the principle that Cheyt Sing was an independent prince, no way liable to be called on for succour by the Bengal Government. Mr. Pitt, who was expected to support Hastings in this case also, resisted this opinion, and asserted that Cheyt Sing was a vassal of the Bengal empire, and owed allegiance to it, and was subject to extraordinary demands on extraordinary emergencies. But, he added, the whole of Hastings's conduct showed that he intended to punish the raja with too much severity, inflicting

a fine of fifty lacs for a default of only five lacs. He voted, therefore, for the motion, which was carried by 119 to 79. The adoption of this charge by the Ministry, was the turning point of the impeachment, which, after this decision, became inevitable. The third important charge, which referred to the confiscation of the treasures and estates of the begums of Oude, was entrusted to Mr. Sheridan, and the speech of six hours' duration with which he introduced it, has been justly considered the greatest effort of oratory in ancient and modern times. Mr. Pitt, himself, described it as possessing everything that genius or art could furnish, to agitate and control the human mind. The House was enraptured by his eloquence, and gave an unusual sign of applause by clapping of hands, in which even the strangers were allowed to join without rebuke. The debate was adjourned to the next day, on the extraordinary plea that, under spell of the orator, the members had lost their self-possession. When the House resumed, Mr. Pitt came forward and asserted, that Hastings's conduct regarding the treasures of the begums bore the strongest marks of criminality, though he did not impute to him the cruelties said to have been practised. After this declaration, the charge was supported by a majority of three to one. It was therefore resolved that Warren Hastings should be impeached before the Lords of high crimes and misdemeanours during the period of his Indian government; and as the Lords refused the use of their own chamber, Westminster Hall was ordered to be fitted up for the occasion.

Trial of Hastings. 1788 —1795.

The trial which commenced on the 13th of February, 1788, presented the most august spectacle which had been witnessed in England for more than a century—the impeachment by the Commons of England, before the highest tribunal in the land, of the man who had consolidated the power of Great Britain in the East. The scene was one of unexampled dignity and grandeur. The Queen and the Princesses, the Prince of Wales, and his royal brothers, with their trains, led the procession.

The peers in their ermine, were marshalled two and two according to their rank from their own chamber to the hall. But the most interesting spectacle was the galaxy of genius grouped together in the seats appropriated to the managers of the trial—Fox, and Burke, and Sheridan, and Grey, and Windham, men of imperishable renown in the annals of their country. In the presence of this illustrious assembly, Warren Hastings, who had given law to the princes and people of India for thirteen years, appeared in the position of a culprit, and was required to go down upon his knees. He was immediately commanded to rise, and accommodated with a seat; but of all the indignities which had been heaped on him in England or in India, this ignominious ceremonial was that which most acutely wounded his feelings. The Lord Chancellor, who presided in the Court, and who had been his own school-fellow at Westminster, concluded his address with much solemnity, "Conduct your defence in a manner that may befit your station and the magnitude of the charges against you, and estimate rightly the high character of those you have to answer—the Commons of Great Britain." To which Hastings replied with great dignity, "I am come to this high tribunal, equally impressed with a confidence in my own integrity, and in the justice of the Court before which I stand." The pleadings were opened by Burke in a speech of such transcendent power, that Hastings himself was carried away by the torrent of eloquence, and remarked that for half an hour he really considered himself the greatest miscreant in England. The management of the impeachment, for any detail of which, however, it is not possible to find space in this brief sketch, was left by Mr. Pitt in the hands of his opponents, the Whigs, and it was conducted in a spirit of rancour, which in this age of moderation, is regarded with amazement. The whole proceeding is inseparably connected with the traditions and the credit of that party, and, hence, after the lapse of three-quarters of a century, its political chief still considers that the "whole of Hastings's policy was

conceived in an Indian spirit of trick, perfidy, cruelty and falsehood." To acquit Hastings of criminality would necessarily imply the severest reflection on the conduct of those who applied to him the epithets of "thief," "tyrant," "robber," "cheat," "swindler," "sharper," "captain-general of iniquity," and "spider of hell," and then expressed their regret that the English language did not afford terms more adequate to the enormity of his offences. The trial dragged on for seven years, and terminated on the 23rd of April, 1795, in his complete and honourable acquittal. It cost him ten lacs of rupees, and reduced him to poverty, but it has conferred immortality on his name.

Character and administration of Hastings.

No man acting on so great a threatre, and in circumstances of such extreme difficulty has ever had his public conduct, and his private correspondence subjected to an ordeal like that to which Hastings was exposed, and there are few who could have come out of it with such credit. In the opinion of the ablest, though most censorious of the historians of British India, "He was beyond all question the most eminent of the chief rulers whom the Company has ever employed, nor is there any one of them who would not have succumbed under the difficulties he had to encounter." The impartial verdict of posterity has long since acquitted him of the crimes charged on him. That he was not free from blame, the preceding narrative has abundantly shown, but his offences are cast into the shade when we contemplate the grandeur of his whole career, and we may adopt the opinion of one of the most eminent statesmen of the day, "Though he was not blameless, if there was a bald place on his head it ought to be covered with laurels." His presidency was a great epoch in the history of our Indian empire. On his arrival in Bengal, as governor, he found the Company in possession of a large and fertile territory, but without any rule of government except that which had descended to it from its commercial institutions, and no rule of policy but that which the accident of the

day supplied. It was he who organised the administration and consolidated the political power of the British empire in the East. While he was anxious to avoid territorical acquisitions, he set his heart on extending our political influence to every court, and making the Company the leading power in India, and the arbitrer of its destinies. This task he accomplished while opposed and thwarted by his colleagues, counteracted and reviled by his superiors, and enjoying but accidental and temporary authority. While the king of England and his ministers were losing an empire in the west, he was building upon an empire in the east. To the natives of India his impeachment was an incomprehensible enigma. They had followed him to his embarkation with their regrets, and when he had been deprived of all power, and had become the butt of persecution, the princes of India, whose confidence he was said to have forfeited, hastened to offer him the spontaneous homage of their admiration. Nor to this day is he regarded in India in any other light than as one of the most moderate and most honourable, as well as the ablest of British rulers.

Select and secret Committees, 1781–82.

The exclusive privileges granted to the East India Company were to expire upon three years' notice, after the 25th of March, 1780, and negotiations were therefore opened between the India-house and the Treasury, towards the close of that year, which turned chiefly on two points, the right of the Crown to all territories acquired by its subjects, and the share due to the public of the advantages which the Company enjoyed. On the 9th of April, 1781, Lord North brought forward eight propositions in the House of Commons relative to the government of India, so unpalatable that the Court of Directors refused to apply for the renewal of the Charter on such terms. But the Company was strong in the House and in the country, while the Ministry was tottering. A compromise was, therefore, effected between the parties. The question of right to the territories acquired in India was left in abeyance, and the existing privileges were extended with scarcely any modifica-

tion to a period of three years, after notice had been give on the 1st of March, 1791. The Company was likewise required to pay to the Treasury the sum of forty lacs of rupees in lieu of all arrears due to the nation, and three-fourths of their surplus profits, after the payment of a dividend of eight per cent., were to go to the state. In February of the year 1781, the petitions, formerly mentioned, from the inhabitants of Calcutta against the encroachments of the Supreme Court were presented to the House, and it was agreed to refer them to a Select Committee, of which Mr. Burke was the life and sóul, and which is remembered by the twelve able reports drawn up by his pen and submitted to Parliament. It was these reports which for the first time diffused through the community in England a distinct view of the origin and progress of our rule in India, and of the importance of the national interests which had grown up. On the receipt of the intelligence of Hyder Ali's irruption into the Carnatic, the Minister moved for the appointment of a Secret Committee to inquire into the cause of the war, and the state of the British possessions on that coast. Six reports were presented by this Committee, through its chairman, Mr. Dundas.

Motion for the recall of Hastings, 1782.

On the 9th of April, 1782. Mr. Dundas moved that the reports be referred to a Committee of the whole House, and in a speech of three hours' duration, denounced the conduct of the Presidencies in India, whom he charged with having plunged the nation into wars for the sake of conquest, violated the engagement of treaties, and plundered and oppressed the natives. He censured the Court of Directors for reprobating the conduct of their servants abroad only when it was not attended with profit. The House at once adopted the charges brought against Sir Thomas Rumbold, the late governor of Madras, and a bill of pains and penalties was introduced, but in consequence of the unsettled state of parties, it dropped through, leaving the black stain of his iniquities still attached to his character.

On the 30th of May, 1782, Mr. Dundas moved for the recall of Mr. Hastings from Bengal, and Mr. Hornby from Bombay, for having in sundry instances acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of the nation, and thereby brought great calamities on India, and enormous expenses on the Company. The House voted Hastings's recall; the Court of Directors followed the example, but the Court of Proprietors, which at this time comprised men of high standing and great eminence in the country, resolved that the Court of Directors was not bound to pay any attention to the suggestions of only one branch of the legislature, and passed a vote of thanks to Hastings. This act of independence, which was resented by both parties in the House, sealed the doom of that Court. Mr. Dundas declared it to be dangerous in principle and insulting to the authority of Parliament, and when he came into power two years subsequently, assisted in giving a death blow to its power.

Fox's India Bill, 1783.

The pecuniary embarrassments in which the Company was involved by the bills drawn for the expenses of the war in the Carnatic, damaged their position in no small degree. On the 5th of March they presented a petition to the House stating that of the sum exacted of them for the benefit of the nation, they had paid thirty lacs, but were unable to find the remainder, though it was only ten lacs, and, moreover, that they could not carry on the government of India for another twelvemonth, without the loan of a crore of rupees. Two Acts were passed for their relief; but this application, combined with the reports of the two Committees, and the damaging debates in the House, produced a deep impression on the public mind, and there was a general demand for some measure commensurate with the importance and exigency of the case. Mr. Fox, then at the head of the Coalition Ministry, was urged by the national voice to legislate for India, and he consequently brought forward his celebrated India Bill. Both Clive and Hastings had recommended to the Prime Ministers of the day,

to Lord Chatham and Lord North, that the government of India should be conducted in the name and under the authority of the king. But Mr. Fox's Bill went much further He proposed that all the powers of government should be transferred, for a period of four years, from the Company to a Board consisting of seven Commissioners, to be nominated in the first instance by Parliament, and afterwards by the Crown. The trade of the Company was to be managed by nine assistant-directors, to be eventually chosen by the proprietors of India Stock. Another Bill was likewise introduced for the reform of abuses in India, but its provisions were without vigour or soundness. A hobby of Mr. Francis was also adopted, and the zemindars were declared to be the hereditary proprietors of the lands of which they collected the revenue. As regarded making war or alliances with the native powers, the supreme authority in India was to be placed under more severe restrictions, and rendered more subordinate than before to the Board of Commissioners, fourteen thousand miles off, in England.

Defeat of Fox's India Bill, 1784.

The m tives of Mr. Fox, in the introduction of this bill, were pure and benevolent. He really believed that it was his mission "to rescue the greatest number of the human race that ever were so grievously oppressed, from the greatest tyranny that ever was exercised." But the bill was considered dangerous to the liberties of the nation. The patronage of India was estimated to be worth two crores of rupees a year, and, as the principle of competitive appointments had not then been discovered, it was believed that the transfer of it to the Crown, or to the minister would destroy the balance of the constitution. It was, therefore, opposed by many from the most patriotic motives. The Court of Directors, threatened with extinction, filled the country with their complaints, and asserted that after such a violation of chartered rights, no institution in England was secure. The cry was echoed in Parliament by thirty or forty of those whom the spoils of the east, or the

jobs of the India-house, had lifted into the senate, and who presented a firm phalanx of opposition to a bill which cut off their children and connections from the prospect of similar fortunes. Every engine was set in motion to defeat this measure, yet it passed the lower House by a triumphant majority of 208 to 102. But the king had been alarmed by the assurance, that it would take the diadem from his head, and place it on the brows of Mr. Fox. He, therefore, adopted the unconstitutional course of authorizing Earl Temple to inform the peers, that he should consider any one who voted for it as no friend of his. The House of Lords therefore threw out the bill, and at midnight the king sent a messenger to the ministers, whom he cordially hated, to announce their dismissal.

Mr Pitt's India Bill 1784.

Mr. William Pitt, then twenty-four years of age, was placed at the head of the new ministry, and, after struggling for several months with an adverse House of Commons, at length appealed to the country, and obtained a majority of 160. The East India Company, then the most powerful corporation in England, had assisted him with their influence at the elections, and their interests were not forgotten when he was in power. Their chief revenue was derived from the monopoly of the tea trade. They were in arrears for duty to the extent of a crore of rupees, which they asked him to remit. The duty of 50 per cent. then levied on the importation of the article, gave encouragement to smuggling, and thereby diminished the resources of the Company. Mr. Pitt reduced it to 12½ per cent., and endeavoured to make up the loss of sixty lacs of rupees which it entailed, by an increase of the very objectionable tax on windows and light. On the 13th of August, he introduced his India Bill, in a speech in which he denounced, in no equivocal terms, the misconduct of the governors in India. He had before him the three plans for the improvement of the government, which had been drawn up during the previous three years by Lord North, Mr. Dundas and Mr. Fox, from each of which he

borrowed some of the materials of his own bill. He proposed the appointment of a Board of Commissioners, consisting of six members of the Privy Council, with power to check, superintend and control, all the acts, operations and concerns, connected with the civil and military government, and the revenues of India. The Court of Directors were to submit to the Commissioners, not only the letters received from India, as before, but all those which were transmitted by them. All despatches and orders dictated by the Board were to be implicitly obeyed. At the same time a committee of secrecy was constituted, consisting of three Directors, through whom all important communications from the Board were to be sent; an interior cabinet was thus established at the India House, which excluded twenty-one of the Directors from all share of political power. The Court of Proprietors, which had recently set the House of Commons at defiance, was restricted from interfering with any of the decisions of the Board, and was thus reduced to utter insignificance. Two other provisions were inserted, the one to compel every officer returning from India to deliver a schedule of the property he had acquired; the other to establish a separate and august tribunal in England, for the trial of great delinquents. But these anomalous enactments were speedily abrogated. It was also declared in this bill that the pursuit of schemes of conquest was repugnant to the wish, to the honour and the policy of the British nation, and it was therefore enacted, "that it should not be lawful for the Governor-General, without the express authority and concord of the Court of Directors, or of the Secret Committee, either to declare or commence hostilities, or to enter into any treaty for making war against any of the native princes or states in India, or any treaty guaranteeing the dominions of such princes or states, except when hostilities should have been commenced, or preparations actually made for the attack of the British nation in India, or of some of the states and princes whose dominions it shall be engaged by subsisting treaties to defend." How far this attempt to stop the growth

of the British empire by Act of Parliament was successful, will be seen in the course of this history.

Comparison of the Bills, 1784. It is difficult to account satisfactorily for the reprobation of Mr. Fox's bill, and the commendation bestowed on that of Mr. Pitt. In both the monopoly of the trade to India and China was left to the Company, and the Directors were to be chosen by the Proprietors. The object of both was the same, to deprive the Court of Directors of all power in the government of India, and transfer it to the Ministry of the day, by whom, in both cases, the Commissioners were to be appointed, for the Crown meant its responsible Ministers. But, then, Mr. Pitt left to the Company the semblance of power, while he imperceptibly took away the reality. He left the Court of Directors all the trappings of greatness, their grand house, their magnificent banquets, and their vast patronage; they were still the grandest corporation in the grandest city of the world; but, there was the check-string behind the machinery, which controlled all its movements. From the passing of this bill in 1784, to the period when, in 1858, Mr. Fox's plan was consummated, and the government of India distinctly transferred to the Crown, the administration of India was conducted under the absolute control of the President of the Board, though in the name of the Company. The government of India was a despotism at home, and a despotism abroad. The Indian Minister was, it is true, responsible to Parliament, but the responsibility became a farce, when the members rushed out of the house at the name of India. Mr. Dundas was appointed the first President of the Board, and continued for sixteen years to manage the affairs of India with ability which has never been surpassed. The office has since been considered one of inferior importance and dignity, and, with occasional exceptions, has been left to second, and even third-rate men. Indeed, there are few circumstances more striking in the history of our Indian empire, than the contrast presented by the brilliant genius of its successive Governors-General, and the dull mediocrity of those who have presided over the government at home.

Nabob of Arcot's debts, 1784.

The first question on which the absolute power of the Indian minister was displayed, referred to the Nabob of Arcot's debts, which had been for many years the great source of demoralization at the Madras Presidency. That prince had long been in the habit of borrowing money at an exorbitant premium and a ruinous interest, and giving assignments, called *tunkaws*, on the revenue of different districts. When he removed his court to Madras, the town immediately became a scene of the most scandalous intrigue and fraud, into which men of all classes, in and out of the service, plunged with reckless avidity. The traffic in loans to the Nabob was openly prosecuted without disguise or shame, and became the shortest and surest road to fortune. Civilians with 500 rupees a month rose to sudden opulence, and even the members of Council, who ought to have been the foremost to check these nefarious practises, were themselves most deeply implicated in them. Government became a mockery, when its highest dignitaries were employed in endeavouring to obtain the control of districts for their private advantage. Hastings, when he took over the revenues of the Carnatic for the prosecution of the war with Hyder, determined to deal summarily with this incubus on its resources. He proposed to deduct one-fourth from the principal, to consolidate principal and interest to a fixed date, after which all interest was to cease, and to pay off the amalgamated sum by instalments. So thoroughly aware were many of the bondholders that these transactions would not bear the light, that they came readily into the compromise, but the majority, consisting chiefly of the public servants, did not consider it their interest to cut down the great pagoda tree, and destroy all hope of future produce, and the plan fell to the ground.

Mr. Dundas's conduct regarding the loans, 1785.

The settlement of these interminable claims was considered a matter of the first importance by all the public men who had taken an active part in Indian affairs. The bills of Mr. Dundas and Mr. Fox made provision for investigating their origin and

justice, and establishing a fund for their liquidation. Mr. Pitt's India Bill contained the same enactment, and the Court of Directors entered upon the duty with great zeal; but before the close of 1784, Mr. Dundas took the affair out of their hands, and determined to pay off the demands without any investigation whatever. To determine the order of payment he divided them into three classes, and directed that the sum of twelve lacs of pagodas should be annually appropriated to this object, giving the precedence, however, to the private debts, over the debt due to the Company. The Court of Directors remonstrated against this preposterous arrangement, and justly pleaded their prior right to the repayment of the expenses they had incurred, almost to their own bankruptcy, in defending the Carnatic from Hyder's invasion, and for which the Nabob had already made an assignment of seven lacs of pagodas a year. They reprobated the proposal to divert any portion of this sum to satisfy the demands of his fraudulent creditors. But the powers of government had passed out of their hands. The President of the Board of Control refused to reconsider his decision, and the subject was brought before the House in February, 1785. It was on this occasion that Mr. Burke delivered his celebrated speech on the Nabob's debts, and consigned the Benfields, and the Atkinsons, and the whole crew of Madras extortioners, to everlasting infamy. He ascribed the singular course pursued by Mr. Dundas to the exercise of Parliamentary influence. It appeared that Paul Benfield had been enabled to make no fewer than eight members at the recent election, from funds supplied by the Nabob of Arcot, and their votes were placed at the disposal of the Ministry. "This," exclaimed Mr. Burke, "was the golden cup of abominations; this the chalice of the fornications of rapine, usury, and oppression, which was held out by the gorgeous eastern harlot, which so many of the people—so many of the nobles had drained to the very dregs." But so powerful was the Ministry in the House, that they did not condescend even to notice this brilliant speech. Mr. Dundas's

scheme of liquidation was adopted, the result of which was, to secure to Benfield the undisturbed enjoyment of a sum little short of sixty lacs of rupees, of which he had plundered the Carnatic.

Sequel of the Arcot debts, 1785.

Of the three classes into which Mr. Dundas had divided the claims, the largest was the consolidated loan, as it was called, of 1777, of which the Court of Directors heard, for the first time, in the preceding year, and the amount of which was fixed, with interest, at two crores and twenty lacs of rupees. But it cost the country five crores before the last pagoda was paid off, twenty years later, whereas Hastings's compromise, in 1781, would have discharged the whole debt for a crore and a half. To pursue this stupendous system of fraud to its closing scene, we must anticipate the events of fifty years. To prevent the recurrence of such claims, Mr. Fox's bill made it unlawful for any servant of the Company, civil or military, to be engaged in any money transaction whatever with any protected or other native prince. Mr. Pitt did not think fit to incorporate this wise prohibition in his bill, and the consequence was, that while the liquidation of the old debt was in progress, the Nabob and his friends were engaged in fabricating fresh loans, and on the payment of the last claim in 1805, new demands to the incredible amount of thirty crores of rupees were presented. But Parliament had learnt wisdom by experience, and instead of again admitting them without inquiry, determined to subject them to the severest scrutiny. A Board of Commissioners, consisting of Bengal civilians, was appointed at Madras to investigate their validity,* and another Board in London to receive appeals. The labours of these bodies were prolonged over half a century, when the genuine claims were reduced to about two crores and a half, while a sum little short of a crore had been expended in the investigation. The conduct of the Madras Presidency in the matter of these Carnatic debts, and of the Bengal Presidency in the case of Meer Cassim, and the transit duties, are the

two dark spots in our Indian administrations, and they appear all the more scandalous when contrasted with the general integrity and justice of our proceedings.

The revenues of the Carnatic, 1785.

In the next question which Mr. Dundas took in hand—the revenues of the Carnatic—his decision was equally unfortunate. The irruption of Hyder Ali into the province had constrained Hastings to demand an assignment of all the revenues of the Carnatic to provide for its defence, with the reservation of one-sixth for the expenses of the Nabob. The Nabob was obliged to submit, but, under the influence of his creditors, who refused to advance money without fresh *tunkaws*, he spared no exertion or artifice to defeat the arrangement, and at length sent an agent to Hastings to appeal against the measures of Lord Macarteny. Hastings imprudently listened to his tale of wrong, and issued an order for the restitution of the assignment. The districts had been placed under the able management of a board of honest men, and had yielded a larger revenue than they had ever produced before; to surrender them to the Nabob would have reduced the Presidency to destitution at a time when the army was seven months in arrears. An angry discussion arose between Madras and Calcutta, but Lord Macarteny at length succeeded in retaining the revenues, and his conduct received the approbation of the Court of Directors. But Mr. Dundas had not been many months at the head of the Board of Control before he ordered them to be peremptorily given back, on the ground that the war had ceased, and that "it was necessary to give to all the powers of India a strong proof of the national faith." The Nabob had received a much larger amount of ready money from the punctual payment of his share of the revenues, than he had ever received before from the districts, and he could therefore have no interest in resuming the management of them. But it was of the highest importance to his creditors, of whom Benfield was the representative, and, at the same time, the Nabob's chief adviser in all such matters, to regain their hold

on the lands. Lord Macartney was resolved, if possible, not to witness the misery which the surrender of the assignment would inevitably inflict on the interests of the Madras Presidency, and he proceeded to Bengal in the hope of persuading the officiating Governor-General to suspend the execution of the order, pending a reference to England. But he found him unwilling to take on himself the responsibility of interfering with the orders of the Ministry; and the lands passed into the hands of the Nabob—and of his creditors.

CHAPTER XVI.

LORD CORNWALLIS'S ADMINISTRATION—THE THIRD MYSORE WAR—1786—1793.

Sir John Macpherson's administration. 1785.

HASTINGS left the government in the hands of Mr., afterwards Sir John, Macpherson, who presided over it for twenty months. He came out to Madras at the age of twenty-two, as purser in one of the Company's ships, but soon after his arrival quitted the sea for more lucrative employment at the court of the Nabob of the Carnatic, where he obtained great consideration. Under his influence the Nabob was induced to make a direct appeal to the Minister in England, as the most effectual means of regaining his political independence, and throwing off the restraints of the Madras government. Mr. Macpherson was charged with this mission, and accredited by a letter to the Duke of Grafton, which gained little for his patron, but a Madras writership for his young agent. Soon after his arrival at the Presidency he obtained one of the most lucrative appointments in the service, that of military paymaster, but was expelled from it by Lord Pigot, in 1776, on the ground that he was still a partizan of the Nabob. With his usual sagacity, he persuaded the Nabob to make his will, and appoint the king of England his executor and the

guardian of his children—an office which was most injudiciously accepted. Mr. Macpherson, who returned to England as the representative of the Nabob, with a full purse, was not long in obtaining a seat in Parliament, and made himself so useful to the Minister by his eloquent pen and his servile vote, as to obtain the appointment of second member of Council at Calcutta. The war with the Mahrattas and Hyder had produced the same effect on the finances of India as the war which England had been waging with the North American colonies produced on her finances. Troops to the number of 70,000 had been maintained for several years in provinces the most remote from each other, and a debt had been accumulated to the extent of six crores of rupees. The army and civil establishments were fifty lacs of rupees in arrears, and the whole machinery of government was in a state of disorder. Mr. Macpherson applied himself with great energy to financial reform, and effected reductions exceeding a crore of rupees. He received thanks from the Court of Directors, and a baronetcy from the Crown; but it is not to be concealed that his two successors, Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, considered his pretensions to economy, except with regard to the reduction of salaries, a mere delusion, and his whole administration a failure.

Wars between Tippoo, the Mahrattas, and the Nizam, 1786.

The treaty of Mangalore left Tippoo with unimpaired resources, and augmented his arrogance. The ink was scarcely dry, when he wrote to his French allies at Pondicherry that he was only waiting for an opportunity of crushing the Nizam and the Mahrattas, and exterminating the English. His first act after the pacification was to seize 30,000 native Christians on the Malabar coast, and cause them to be circumcised. The Hindoos south of the Kistna were treated with the same violence, and 2,000 brahmins destroyed themselves to avoid the indignity. Of the population of Coorg, 70,000 of all ages and both sexes were ruthlessly driven off to Seringapatam. Tippoo then proceeded to demand the cession

of Beejapore from the Nizam, on some frivolous pretext, and attacked the Mahratta garrison of Nurgoond, of which he obtained possession by an act of perfidy. Nana Furnuvese, finding Tippoo a more dangerous neighbour than his father had been, proceeded to form an alliance with the Nizam early in 1786, for the conquest and partition of his whole territory. The allied army opened the campaign on the 1st of May, by the seige of Badamee, which surrendered before the end of the month. After various assaults and repulses, which generally terminated to the advantage of Tippoo, he brought this campaign of nine months to an unexpected termination by a voluntary offer of peace. A treaty was accordingly concluded between the belligerents, in April, 1787, by which Tippoo engaged to pay forty-five lacs of rupees of tribute, and to surrender many of the places he had captured. This sudden change of policy was subsequently explained by the great efficiency given to the military establishments of the Company by the new Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, and which led Tippoo to suppose that the English were about to take part in the war against him.

Lord Macarteny offered the Governor-Generalship, 1786.

Lord Macarteny, who had taken Calcutta on his way to England, was detained there by severe illness, and was agreeably surprised on his recovery to receive the unsolicited offer of the Governor-Generalship, as a token of the estimation in which his services were held by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas. Instead, however, of accepting the appointment, and taking the oaths and his seat in Council, he postponed the acceptance of it till he had an opportunity of conferring with the Ministry on the additional powers which he deemed necessary to impart dignity and efficiency to the office. He embarked therefore for England, and on his arrival submitted his views, which were in every respect judicious, to the Court of Directors and to the Prime Minister, by whom they were entertained with great complacency. But all his prospects were at once blighted when he proceeded farther to solicit such token of

the royal favour as should demonstrate that he entered upon this responsible office with the entire confidence of the Ministers of the Crown, as well as of the Court of Directors. The request was not only in itself reasonable, but essential to the efficiency and vigour of the government. It was the absence of this support which had subjected the administration of Hastings to the greatest embarrassment. But Mr. Dundas, who had sustained the nomination of Lord Macartney against a violent opposition in the Cabinet, took umbrage that "he did not rather repose his future fortunes in our hands than make it the subject of a *sine qua non* preliminary." Within three days of the receipt of this request, Lord Cornwallis was gazetted Governor-General of India.

Change in the system of government.

The government of the Company's affairs in India had hitherto been entrusted to one of their own servants, on the ground that local experience was the most important qualification for the office. But this principle of selection, though well suited to the requirements of a factory, was ill adapted to the government of an empire. The advantage arising from this knowledge of the country and the people, however great, was found to be over-balanced by the trammels of local associations, and the difficulty of exercising due control over those who had previously been in the position of equals. The transcendant ability of Hastings himself had been too often neutralized by these connections, and he had been obliged to meet the cabals and intrigues which beset him in the Council chamber by compromises, which weakened the authority of government, and strengthened abuses. These considerations induced the Ministry to place the government in the hands of a nobleman of elevated rank and high character, and unfettered by any local ties. The choice fell on Lord Cornwallis, who had filled several posts of importance, both military and diplomatic, and who stood so high in the estimation of the country that even the surrender of a British army to Washington at York-town, which decided the question of American independence,

had not shaken his credit. It was within eight months of that disaster, that his name was mentioned by Mr. Dundas, in reference to the future government of India, and was received with great satisfaction by both parties in the House of Commons, who united in paying homage to his talents. He was appointed Governor-General in February, 1786, and reached Calcutta in the month of September. Thus, by the singular caprice of circumstances, the man who had lost America was sent out to govern India, and the man who had saved India was subjected to a prosecution for high crimes and misdemeanours. Lord Cornwallis's government commenced under the happiest auspices. He enjoyed the entire confidence of Mr. Pitt, and, more especially, of Mr. Dundas, the Indian Minister, who remarked in one of his letters, that they "never before had a government in India and in England acting in perfect harmony, on principles of perfect purity and independence." The spirit of insubordination and faction which had deranged Hastings's administration was at once subdued by the dignity and firmness of Lord Cornwallis's character, and the current of public business began to run smoothly, as soon as he assumed the charge of it.

Correction of abuses, 1786-88.

The first three years of his administration were devoted to the correction of abuses, to which it is necessary to advert more particularly, to indicate the progress of integrity in the public service. The Court of Directors still continued to act on the old and vicious principle of "small salaries and large perquisites." The salaries came from their own treasury, which they guarded with the parsimony of a miser, the perquisites came from the people, and excited little observation, though they served to vitiate the whole system of government. Every man who returned to England rich was considered a rogue, and every man who came home poor was set down as a fool. Hastings made some effort to correct these abuses, but he had not sufficient official strength to stem the tide, and he was often obliged to allay opposition by the bribe of places and emoluments. The

Court of Directors nominated their friends and relatives to the most lucrative appointments in India, and the connection thus established between the patrons in Leadenhall-street, and the nominees in India, was too often fatal to the authority of the Governor-General. Lord Cornwallis was determined to put an end to this practice, but his efforts were not successful until he threatened, if it was persisted in, to resign the government, "that he might preserve his own character, and avoid witnessing the ruin of the national interests."

Instances of abuse, 1786.

Lord Cornwallis found the system of official depredation in full bloom. The sub-treasurer was, as he remarked, playing with the deposits; that is, lending out lacs upon lacs of the public money, at twelve per cent. interest. The Commander-in-Chief had given two of his favourites the profitable privilege of raising two regiments, which Lord Cornwallis ordered to be disbanded soon after his arrival. The two commandants immediately demanded compensation, but after the most diligent inquiry, it could not be discovered that either of the regiments had ever existed, except on the paymaster's books. The collectors of the revenue were still engaged in trade, in the name of some friend or relative, and as they were also judges and magistrates, and possessed of irresistible influence in their districts, they were enabled to amass enormous fortunes; and one of them did not hesitate to admit, that his emoluments exceeded his salary more than twenty fold. The raja of Benares is described by Lord Cornwallis as a fool, and his servants as knaves, and the Resident, supreme in power, monopolized the commerce of the province, and realized four lacs a year, though his regular allowance did not exceed 1,000 rupees a month. It was the old process, so well understood in the east, of turning power into money, which now gave fortunes to a new race of conquerors, as it had enriched the Afghan, the Tartar, the Mogul, and the Abysinian conquerors, who preceded them. There was, however, this material difference

in the two cases; the Asiatic invader settled in the country, and his acquisitions were expended in it, while the European transported his gains to his own country, and was seen no more. The fortunes thus imported into England will not, it is true, bear any comparison with those which have been subsequently realized in manufactures and railroads. With one exception, there were not a dozen of the Company's servants, from first to last, who took home so large a sum as forty lacs of rupees, but, for the time, their wealth was considered prodigious; and serious apprehensions were entertained by many in England, that eastern gold would undermine its constitution. But it is the peculiar merit of the British administration in India, that it has succeeded in surmounting these abuses, under which previous dynasties had perished, and that, instead of becoming more corrupt with the progress of time, it has worked itself pure, and now presents a model of official integrity, which has, perhaps, no parallel in the world.

The salaries of the public servants augmented, 1788.

To the task of reform Lord Cornwallis applied himself with the greatest assiduity. He hunted out frauds in every department, and abolished jobbing agencies, and contracts and sinecures. His greatest difficulty arose from the importunity of men of power and influence in England who had been in the habit of quartering their friends and kindred, and even their victims at the gambling-table, on the revenues of India. But the Governor-General was inexorable, and he had the courage to decline the recommendations of the Prince of Wales himself, afterwards George the Fourth, who, as he remarked, "was always pressing some infamous and unjustifiable job on him." These reforms, however, were not consummated till he had convinced the Court of Directors of the truth, which Clive and Hastings had in vain pressed on them, that "it was not good economy to put men into places of the greatest confidence, where they have it in their power to make their fortunes in a few months, without giving them

adequate salaries." The Court parted with the traditionary policy of two centuries with great reluctance; but Lord Cornwallis at length succeeded in "annexing liberal salaries to these offices, and in giving gentlemen a prospect of acquiring, by economy, a moderate fortune from the savings of their allowances."

Arrangement with Oude. 1786.

On the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, the Vizier hastened to send his minister to Calcutta, to renew the request to be relieved from the expense of the British troops stationed in his dominions. But the rapid encroachments of Sindia in Hindostan, and the growing power of the Sikhs, convinced the Governor-General that the brigade could not be withdrawn from Futtygur without great risk. He consented, however, to reduce the demand on the treasury of Lucknow for their support, from seventy-four to fifty lacs of rupees a year, provided it was paid with punctuality. The higher sum had never been realised, and the Company lost nothing by the arrangement, while the defence of Oude from foreign invasion, was provided for at a charge of less than a fourth of its entire revenue. The Vizier was, at the same time, relieved from the pressure of the European harpies who had long been preying on him, and of the monopolies they had inflicted on his country, under the influence of British supremacy. He was likewise exonerated from the payment of ten lacs of rupees a year, which had been allotted by Hastings for the office of the private agent of the Governor-General at the durbar, Major Palmer, of which his own share amounted to two lacs. Lord Cornwallis also conferred an inestimable boon on Oude by peremptorily refusing to recognize the claims of any of the private creditors of the Vizier, and thus rescued that kingdom from the fate of the Carnatic. But he could not fail to perceive the glaring abuses of the government, in which the Vizier took no further interest than to give the sanction of his authority to the acts of his servants, when they could prevail on him—which was rarely the case—to look into the affairs of the kingdom.

The Vizier'sonly care was to obtain money for boundless dissipation; and so the zemindars were allowed to squeeze the ryots, the ministers squeezed the zemindars, and the Vizier extorted every rupee he could obtain from his ministers, and squandered it in cock-fighting and debaucheries, in maintaining a thousand horses in his private stables, which he never used, and a whole brigade of elephants.

Demand of the Guntoor Sirkar, 1788.

Lord Cornwallis, on leaving England, was especially enjoined to amalgamate the King's and the Company's troops, and to secure the possession of the Guntoor Sirkar. The project of amalgamation was warmly espoused by the king and supported by his Ministers; no efforts, however, were made during the administration of Lord Cornwallis to carry it into effect, but on his return to England, after seven years of experience, he earnestly recommended the adoption of it to Mr. Dundas and the Court of Directors. The reversion of the Guntoor Sirkar, it will be remembered, was assigned by the Nizam to the Company by the treaty of 1768, after the death of his brother, Basalut Jung. He died in 1782, but the Nizam constantly evaded the surrender. Lord Cornwallis found him in 1786 involved in a war with Tippoo, and considered it inopportune to press the cession at the time. But in 1788, the prospect of continued peace with France, which removed all fear of European interference, and the aspect of politics in the Deccan, seemed to present a suitable occasion for making the demand. To obviate every difficulty, troops were drawn to the frontier, and Captain Kennaway, the Governor-General's aide-de-camp, was despatched to Hyderabad, "to demand the full execution of the treaty of 1768," with the intimation, that a British force was prepared to enter Guntoor in a fortnight. To the surprise of Lord Cornwallis, the Nizam ordered the immediate surrender of the district without any hesitation, as well as the adjustment of all accounts; but at the same time he expressed his confidence that the Company's government would be prepared, with equal alacrity, to fulfil the obligations to which they

were bound by it; namely, to send two battalions of sepoys and six pieces of artillery, manned by Europeans, whenever the Nizam should require them, and to reduce and transfer to him the province of the Carnatic Balaghaut, "then usurped by Hyder Naik." With his usual duplicity, the Nizam sent an envoy at the same time to Tippoo, to propose an alliance for the extirpation of the English. Tippoo readily assented to the proposal, on condition of receiving a daughter of the Nizam in marriage; but the Tartar blood of the son of Chin Kilich Khan boiled at the idea of a matrimonial alliance with the son of a naik, or head constable, and the negotiation fell to the ground.

Perplexity of Lord Cornwallis, 1789.

Lord Cornwallis was not a little perplexed by this manœuvre on the part of the Nizam. Since the treaty of 1768, the British Government had in two successive treaties acknowledged Hyder and Tippoo as the lawful sovereigns of the Carnatic Balaghaut. The Act of 1784 had, moreover, strictly prohibited the formation of alliances with native princes without sanction from home. But Lord Cornwallis deemed it important to British interests to secure the co-operation both of the Nizam and the Peshwa against the hostile designs of Tippoo, which were daily becoming more palpable. To meet the difficulties of the case, he addressed a letter to the Nizam, which was avowed to have the full force of a treaty, though it professed to be simply a clearer definition of the old compact. In this letter he stated that if the province in question should at any time come into the possession of the Company, with the assistance of his Highness, the stipulation of the treaty would be faithfully observed. The brigade of British troops, he said, should be furnished whenever the Nizam applied for its services, but with the understanding that it was not to be employed against any power in alliance with the English. A list of these powers was added to the document, but the name of Tippoo was omitted. This memorable letter, dated the 7th of July, 1789, has been considered by some writers of con-

siderable note, as the cause of the war which broke out with Tippoo six months after. That an engagement which contemplated the partition of his dominions, and placed an English force at the disposal of the Nizam, with liberty to employ it against him, while he himself was excluded from the register of British allies, must have given him great annoyance, will not be denied. But, before the treaty of Mangalore was a day old, he had assured the French governor of Pondicherry that he would renew the war with the English on the first occasion. He had fitted out an expedition to attack the king of Travancore, an ally of the English, long before he heard of the letter. It was certain that whenever he was ready for the struggle, he would neither want a pretext, nor wait for one.* As to the Act of Parliament intended to isolate us from all the other powers of India, even the author of it, Mr. Dundas, had begun to consider it a mistake, and had recently written to Lord Cornwallis that "an alliance with the Mahrattas of the closest kind was all that was requisite to keep the whole world in awe respecting India."

Proceedings of the Madras government, 1789.

The little principality of Travancore, at the southern extremity of the Malabar coast, had been placed under British protection by the treaty of Mangalore. Tippoo, who had long coveted the possession of it, had been for some time assembling a large force in the vicinity, and the raja, anxious to strengthen the defences of his kingdom, had recently purchased the towns of Cranganore and Ayacottah of the Dutch. Tippoo immediately demanded the surrender of them on the plea that that they belonged to his vassal, the chief of Cochin. The raja refused to resign them, and applied to the British authorities for support. Lord Cornwallis directed the President at Madras to inform both Tippoo and the raja that if the Dutch had held independent and unreserved possession of them, he was instructed to assist the raja in maintaining and defending them. Unfortunate as Madras had been in its Presidents for a long

series of years, Mr. Holland, who now occupied the chair, appears to have been the very worst of the lot. He not only withheld this communication from Tippoo, but sent a disheartening letter to the raja, and, at the same time, demanded a lac of pagodas for himself, as the condition of aiding him with a British detachment. To promote this profligate negotiation, he kept the army in such a state of inefficiency as to encourage Tippoo's aggression. Holland was deeply implicated in all the criminality of the Nabob's loans, and, although he had been ordered to suspend all payments to the creditors as soon as there was any probability of a war with Tippoo, he chose to continue these disbursements, allowed the pay of the troops to fall into arrears, and neglected to make any preparation for the impending war.

Tippoo attacks Travancore, 28th December, 1789.

Emboldened by this negligence, Tippoo suddenly attacked the "lines of Travancore," consisting of the defensive wall which the raja had erected; but after a severe action was repulsed with disgrace, and with the loss of 2,000 men. He immediately ordered down a battering train from Seringapatam, and reinforcements from every quarter. Even the detachments employed in dragooning "the infidels of Malabar," who refused circumcision, were recalled from their mission, and the next three months and a half were wasted in preparation for the attack of this miserable wall. Holland, after he had received information of this attack, which was equivalent to a declaration of war, actually proposed to appoint commissioners for the pacific adjustment of all differences with Tippoo, and persisted in declining to provide cattle for the army which was to take field. Soon after, he fled from his post and embarked for England.

Treaties formed by Lord Cornwallis, 1790.

During the three years of Lord Cornwallis's administration he had been eminently successful in his financial reforms. The income of Bengal now exceeded its expenditure by two crores of rupees, and he was enabled not only to supply the wants of the other Presi-

dencies, but to send home an investment from territorial revenue, of a crore and thirty lacs, which was calculated to realise two crores in the London market. But however much he regretted that the fruit of three years of economy should be swept away at a stroke, he determined to lose no time in bringing all the resources of the country to the prosecution of the war which Tippoo had wantonly provoked. It was not a time for pottering over Acts of Parliament, and he proceeded at once to form alliances, offensive and defensive, with the two other powers of the Deccan. Although Nana Furnuvese had hitherto treated the friendly advances of Lord Cornwallis with coldness, so great was the animosity of the Mahrattas against Tippoo, that they now agreed to co-operate heartily with the British Government in reducing his power. The hatred and dread of Tippoo also quickened the zeal of the Nizam, and a tripartite treaty was concluded between the parties, which provided that the Nizam and the Mahrattas should attack Tippoo's dominions both during and after the rains, and prosecute the war with all vigour; that they should join the British army if required, with 10,000 horse, for which they were to be fully reimbursed; that a British contingent should accompany their troops, and that the territories and forts conquered by their united arms should be equally divided among them. Of the three powers in the Deccan, the Nizam was the most feeble, and he knew but too well that as soon as the strength of Tippoo was broken, and the balance of power destroyed, he would be exposed to the encroachments of the Mahrattas, who kept open a long account against him of arrears due for *chout* and tribute. He, therefore, delayed the ratification of the treaty while he endeavoured to obtain from Lord Cornwallis, not only the guarantee of his own dominions during the war, but the promise of full protection from the claims of the Poona durbar after its termination. Lord Cornwallis could not, however, consent to this proposal without giving umbrage to his Mahratta allies, and the Nizam was obliged to rest satisfied with the general assurance

of friendly support, as far as might be compatible with the engagements of the Company.

Campaign of 1790.

Lord Cornwallis was desirous of taking the field in person, but, finding that General Medows, an officer of acknowledged ability, in whom he placed great confidence, had been appointed Governor and General-in-Chief at Madras, he determined to leave the campaign to his management. The General reached Madras late in February, and prepared to commence operations with a body of 15,000 troops, "the finest and best English army," in the opinion of Lord Cornwallis, "which had ever been assembled in India." The plan of the campaign was similar to that framed by Colonel Fullarton, in 1783, of proceeding southward to Coimbetore, and after reducing the forts and occupying that rich district, of ascending the ghauts to Seringapatam. Another division, when reinforced from Bengal, was to march on the capital through the Baramahal. So great, however, was the deficiency of supplies, owing to the criminal neglect of Holland, that General Medows was unable to move from Trichinopoly before the 26th of May, and was nearly three weeks in reaching Caroor, the frontier station, only fifty miles distant. The army arrived at Coimbetore on the 23rd of July; Dindigul was captured on the 21st of August, and Palghaut, deemed by the natives impregnable, surrendered on the 21st of September, with sixty guns of various calibre. But here the success of the campaign terminated. General Medows injudiciously separated his force into three divisions, and placed them at too great a distance from each other for mutual support. Tippoo took advantage of this error, and, by a masterly movement, descended the Gujelhutty pass, attacked the foremost division under Colonel Floyd, and obliged him to fall back with the loss of some of his guns. "We lost time," said Lord Cornwallis, "in 1790, and Tippoo gained reputation." Several forts stored with provisions likewise fell into his hands; but the subsequent junction of the three

divisions baffled his plans, and he moved northward to oppose the army advancing from Bengal.

The Bengal division—Hartley's exploit, 1790.

On the breaking out of the war, Lord Cornwallis adopted the bold plan of Hastings, and despatched a large expedition from the Bengal Presidency along the coast down to Madras. It reached Conjeveram on the 1st of August without accident, under the command of Colonel Maxwell, and there it was reinforced by several regiments from Madras, which raised its strength to 9,500 men. The object of General Medows was to form a junction with this force, and that of Tippoo was to prevent it. But, notwithstanding the rapid march and able dispositions of the Mysore army, a union was effected of the two bodies of English troops on the 17th of November. Tippoo then marched south to attack Trichinopoly, and the chain of English posts and depôts in that quarter, and General Medows closely followed his track. In these desultory movements the troops were subjected to unprofitable fatigue, and began to lose confidence in their commander, who was evidently unequal to the direction of operations on a large scale. The character of the campaign was, however, redeemed by the brilliant exploit of Colonel Hartley, who will be remembered as having earned the highest distinction twelve years before, in the war with the Mahrattas. In the present year, he was stationed on the Malabar coast, with a body of 1,500 men and a few guns, to watch the movements of Hussein Ali, the Mysore general, who guarded the province with a force of 7,000 or 8,000 men, and a large body of fanatic Moplas. On the 8th of December he ventured to attack Colonel Hartley's little band under the walls of Calicut, but was signally defeated, with the loss of more than 1,000 men, and obliged soon after to surrender, together with 2,500 of his force. The loss, on the side of the English, did not exceed fifty-two. General Medows, who was totally devoid of any feeling of professional jealousy, in

announcing this success to Lord Cornwallis, exclaimed, "Oh, to eclipse the brilliant action of Colonel Hartley."

Lord Cornwallis takes the field in person, 1791.

Lord Cornwallis, mortified by the futility of the campaign, resolved to resume his original design of taking the command of the war in person, and arrived at Madras on the 12th of December, 1790. General Medows returned to the Presidency with his army, without expressing a murmur on the trying occasion of being superseded in the command. Tippoo quitted the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, and proceeded northward into the heart of the Carnatic, marking his progress by the desolation of the province. He then advanced to Pondicherry, where he wasted several weeks in negotiations with the French governor, through whom he sent a mission to Louis the Sixteenth, then in the vortex of the French revolution. Though the French and English were at the time at peace, he requested that a body of 6,000 troops should be sent to his assistance, for whose conveyance and support he offered to make suitable provision, and with whose aid he engaged to capture the English settlements and transfer them to the French. The unhappy king revolted from the proposal, and remarked: "This resembles the affair of America, of which I never think without regret, my youth was taken advantage of at that time, and we suffer for it now; the lesson is too severe to be forgotten." Meanwhile, Lord Cornwallis was making the greatest efforts to resume operations in the field. It was the first time the British armies in India had been led by a Governor-General in person, who enjoyed the undivided exercise of all the civil and military powers of the state, and commanded the resources of all the Presidencies. His presence was considered by the allies the strongest pledge of sincerity, and gave them every confidence of success.

Capture of Bangalore, 21st March, 1791.

The British army was concentrated at Vellore on the 11th of February, and Lord Cornwallis made a demonstration of advancing to Seringapatam through the Amboor pass, while his force, with its

convoys, passed undiscovered and unopposed through the more easy pass of Mooglee, and on the 17th of February, stood on the table land of Mysore, only ninety miles from Bangalore, without having fired a shot. Tippoo, who had manifested unaccountable indecision while Lord Cornwallis was organizing his plans, hastened, by forced marches to rescue his seraglio and treasures which had been deposited in that fortress, and was only just in time to save them from capture. Bangalore capitulated on the 21st of March, but the pleasure of success was damped by the loss, during the siege, of Colonel Moorhouse, who, though he had risen from the ranks, exhibited all the characteristics of a gallant and most accomplished soldier.

Arrival of the Nizam's contingent, 1791.

The Nizam's contingent of 10,000 horse assembled in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad, in May, 1790, in accordance with the conditions of the treaty of alliance; but they never moved beyond their own frontier, till they heard, in September, that Tippoo had gone southward to Coimbetore. When there was no longer any risk of encountering his army, the Nizam's troops entered the Mysore territory, spreading desolation and ruin in their course. But, instead of marching on to join the English army, they sat down before Copaul, a tremendous rock a few miles north of the Toombudra, and twenty miles west of the ancient ruins of Vijuynugur, which detained them nearly six months. As soon, however, as intelligence of the capture of Bangalore reached their camp, they hastened forward, and joined Lord Cornwallis's army on the 13th of April, 1791. They are described as mounted on horses in excellent condition, and clothed in armour of every conceivable variety, including the Parthian bow and arrow, the iron club of Scythia, sabres of every age and nation, lances of every length and description, and matchlocks of every form. But there was neither order, nor discipline, nor valour among them; and the gay cavaliers were so utterly unsuited for field work that they were unable to protect their own foragers, and soon ceased to move beyond the English pickets.

Battle of Arikera, and retreat of Cornwallis, 1791.

Lord Cornwallis was now in full march on the capital; and Tippoo, yielding to the representations of his officers, and the remonstrances of his women, resolved not to allow it to be invested without a struggle. His father had always advised him to avoid a regular engagement with the English, but he determined on this occasion to disregard this salutary injunction. He drew up his whole army at a short distance from Seringapatam, with the Cavery on his right and a ridge of hills on his left; and there, on the 13th of May, was fought the battle of Arikera. Although Tippoo executed his movements with great promptitude and military judgment, he was entirely discomfited. On the summit of the hill, where the last shot was fired, the island of Seringapatam and the eastern face of the fortress became visible to the victors; but here terminated the triumph of the campaign. For many weeks the British army had been suffering the extremity of want. The scanty stores which accompanied it had been exhausted, and Tippoo's light horse cut off all supplies of provision or forage, and created a desert around it. After the engagement of the 13th, Lord Cornwallis felt, as Sir Eyre Coote had felt ten years before, that he would gladly exchange the trophies of victory for a few days' rice. The Nizam's horse, which was unable to make any effort for its own subsistence, increased the calamity by consuming forage and grain. General Abercromby, with the Bombay army sent to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis, had proceeded down the Malabar coast, and, passing through the friendly country of Coorg, had arrived at Periapatam, forty miles distant from Seringapatam; and Lord Cornwallis, after the engagement, advanced to Caniambady, with the view of forming a junction with him. But, on the 20th of May, his commissariat officers reported that it was utterly impossible to move his heavy guns a step farther with bullocks reduced to the condition of skeletons. The whole camp was falling a prey to want and disease; and Lord Cornwallis was constrained to accept the conclusion that the object of the campaign was no longer

practicable, and that the salvation of the army depended on an immediate retreat. On the 21st of May instructions were sent to General Abercromby to retrace his steps to the coast, which he reached in safety, after having destroyed a portion of his siege guns, and buried the remainder at the head of the pass. The next day Lord Cornwallis issued a general order, explaining to the soldiers, European and native, the true motives of this measure, in order to avoid misapprehensions, and then destroyed his own battering train and heavy equipments. On the 26th the army began its melancholy march back to Madras.

Progress of the Mahratta contingent, 1790.

The dispirited force had scarcely accomplished half a short march, when a body of about 2,000 horse made its appearance on the left flank. It was supposed at first to be a portion of the enemy's troops advancing to make an attempt on the stores and baggage on the line of retreat, and prompt dispositions were made to frustrate it, but a single horseman soon after galloped up and announced that it was the advanced guard of their Mahratta allies. By the coalition treaty the Mahratta cabinet had engaged to furnish a body 10,000 horse for the prosecution of the war with Tippoo, and the Governor-General had engaged to strengthen their main army with a British detachment. Captain Little accordingly embarked at Bombay, with two battalions of sepoys and one company of European and two of native artillery, with which he reached the rendezvous at Coompta on the 18th of June, but found that not more than 2,000 Mahratta horse had been assembled. This was explained by the fact that, although the treaty, offensive and defensive, had been actually signed by Nana Furnuvese on the 1st of June, the envoys of Tippoo were still entertained at Poona, in the hope, which the ministers did not attempt to conceal, that he might be induced even at the eleventh hour to purchase their neutrality by a concession of territory. This hope was at length dispelled; the vakeels were dismissed on the 5th of August, and Pureshram Bhao, the Mahratta com-

mandant, crossed the Kistna six days after and joined the army. But it soon became evident that his intention was not so much to promote the general object of the confederacy in the humiliation of Tippoo, as to take advantage of the co-operation of the British artillery to recover the fortresses and territories which Tippoo had wrested from the Mahrattas. On the 18th of September, he sat down before Dharwar, a mud fort, but well fortified, and garrisoned by 10,000 Mysore troops, under the command of one of Tippoo's ablest generals. The fort held out till the 30th of March, when the garrison capitulated, on hearing of the fall of Bangalore. On the 1st of January, 1791, a second Mahratta army, consisting of 25,000 horse and 5,000 foot, marched from Poona, under Hurry Punt, the commander-in-chief of the armies of the state, and advanced into Mysore by a more easterly route, capturing a number of forts in its progress.

Junction of the Mahratta and English armies, 1791.

These two bodies were united on the 24th of May, 1791, and marched towards Milgota, where two days later they came up with the English army on the first day of its retreat. Great was the astonishment of Lord Cornwallis to find the Mahratta forces, which he supposed to be a hundred and fifty miles distant, in his immediate vicinity. But, his intelligence department, to which only 2,000 rupees a month had been allotted, was wretched beyond example, while the admirable organization of Tippoo's troop of spies intercepted all communication, and kept the allies mutually ignorant of each others movements. Had the approach of the Mahratta armies been announced a week earlier, the campaign would have presented a very different prospect. The provisions which they brought with them, though sold at an exorbitant rate, proved a seasonable relief to Lord Cornwallis's famished soldiers. The bazaar of the Mahratta camp presented the greatest variety of articles; English broadcloths and Birmingham penknives, the richest Cashmere shawls, and the most rare and costly jewellery, together with oxen, and sheep, and poultry, and all that the best

bazaars of the most flourishing towns could furnish, the result of long and unscrupulous plunder; while the carpets of the money-changers in the public street of the encampment, spread with the coins of every kingdom and province in the east, indicated the systematic rapine of these incomparable freebooters. But, though the Mahratta sirdars had been enriching themselves with plunder from the day on which they took the field, they set up a plea of poverty, and demanded a loan of fourteen lacs of rupees. Lord Cornwallis had no time to examine the morality of this request; he had only to consider the consequence of refusing it—the transfer of their alliance to Tippoo, who was ready to purchase it at any price. He, therefore, sent an express to Madras, and took out of the hold of the ships then about to sail for China, the specie intended for the annual investment.

Operations of the Mahratta, the Nizam's and the English forces, 1791.

Hurry Punt, the Mahratta general-in-chief, accompanied the English army on its retirement, but lost no opportunity of indulging in plunder. The main body of the Mahratta army, under Pureshram Bhao, moved to the north west, subjecting the Mysore districts to indiscriminate spoliation. The siege of Simoga, in which he engaged, was rendered memorable by the skill and heroism of Capt. Little's detachment which accompanied his force, who, after thirty-six hours of hard fighting, without food or rest, placed the fortress in his hands. The Bhao had left Lord Cornwallis in July, under a solemn promise to return to the army whenever required; but nothing was farther from his intentions; his object was to avail himself of the aid of the English force to recover the territory which the Mahrattas had lost; and he was importuning Captain Little to attack Bednore, when another and more peremptory requisition obliged him to return to the south; but he did not join the English camp till a fortnight after the termination of the war. The army of the Nizam, on the retreat of Lord Cornwallis, proceeded to the north-east, and laid siege to Goorumconda, where it was detained many

months. The fort was at length captured by the English auxiliary force, and Hafiz-jee, who had been the bearer of Tippoo's offer of an alliance with the Nizam's family four years before, which was rejected with indignation, was made prisoner and cut to pieces by the Nizam's commander, to revenge that deep felt indignity. Soon after, the Hyderabad army was summoned to join Lord Cornwallis, then advancing a second time against Seringapatam. After his retirement from the capital in May, 1791, he employed the remainder of the year in the conquest of the Baramahal, and the reduction of the fortresses with which the country was studded, and the fortifications of which had been improved by Tippoo with so much skill and assiduity as to excite Lord Cornwallis's warm admiration. Nothing, indeed, filled the princes of the country with such awe of the British power as the ease and rapidity with which fortresses, absolutely impregnable to the assaults of any native force, were mastered, and which they attributed to the power of magic. While the Mahrattas had been six months and a half besieging Dharwar, and the Nizam's army had been detained five months before Copaul, such fortresses as Kistnagherry, Nundidroog, Severndroog, and others, which seemed to defy all human approach on their inaccessible peaks, were captured in a few days.

The grand convoy, January, 1792.

The arrangements of Lord Cornwallis for the campaign of 1792 were completed early in January, and he took the field with a convoy which surpassed in magnitude anything which had ever accompanied a British force in India, and struck the Deccan with amazement. First and foremost, marched a hundred elephants laden with treasure, followed by a hundred carts supplied with liquor, and 60,000 bullocks laden with provisions belonging to the *brinjarees*, the professional and hereditary carriers of India, more than one-fourth of which number had been serving in Tippoo's army the preceding year. Then in three parallel columns came the battering train and heavy carriages, the infantry and the field-pieces, the baggage and

the camp followers. The appearance of these vast supplies, partly received from England, and partly drawn from the other Presidencies, within six months after Lord Cornwallis had been obliged to retreat for want of provisions, might well justify the exclamation of Tippoo, "It is not what I see of the resources of the English that I dread, but what I do not see."

Siege of Seringapatam, 6th February, 1792.

On the 25th of January, the Nizam's army, consisting of about 8,000 men, under the command of his son, but more gaudy than serviceable, together with a small body of Hurry Punt's Mahrattas, joined the camp of Lord Cornwallis, when he moved forward with a force, consisting exclusive of allies, of 22,000 men, 44 field-pieces, and 42 siege guns. On the 5th of February the whole force reached an elevated ground which commanded a view of Seringapatam, standing on an island formed by two branches of the Cavery. The defences, which had been greatly improved by Tippoo, consisted of three lines protected by 300 pieces of cannon, the earthwork being covered by a bound hedge of thorny plants, absolutely impenetrable to man or beast. Tippoo's force was encamped on the northern face of the stream, and his position was so admirably fortified that it appeared an act of rashness to attack it. Lord Cornwallis reconnoitred the works on the 6th, and determined to storm them that same night. The generals of the allies were astounded when they heard that the English commander had gone out in person, like an ordinary captain, in a dark night, without guns, to assail these formidable lines. But the attack was planned with the greatest skill, and rewarded with complete success. The contest raged throughout the night, and by the morning Lord Cornwallis had obtained possession of the whole of the enemy's redoubts, and established himself in the island, with the loss of 530 killed and wounded, of whom 36 were officers. The casualties in Tippoo's army were estimated at 4,000, but as the conscripts whom he had pressed into his service took advantage of

this reverse to desert it, his total loss did not fall short of 20,000.

Treaty of peace, 1792.

Tippoo now began to tremble for his capital and his kingdom, and hastened to release Lt. Chambers, whom he had detained, contrary to the capitulation of Coimbetore,—which that officer had defended to the last extremity,—and sent him with overtures to Lord Cornwallis. On the 16th of February, General Abercromby joined the camp with a reinforcement of 6,000 men from the Malabar coast. The operations of the siege were prosecuted with unabated vigour during the negotiations, and on the 23rd the works were so far completed that fifty pieces of cannon were brought to bear on the fortifications. Tippoo assembled his principal officers, and adjured them on the Koran to advise him in all sincerity and good faith, and to inform him whether, in their opinion, he ought to accede to the demands of the confederates. They replied that no reliance could any longer be placed on his soldiers, and that submission was inevitable. Tippoo felt that he had to choose between the loss of his throne, and submission to the severe terms dictated by Lord Cornwallis; which were, that he should cede half his territories, pay three crores of rupees towards the expenses of the war, and give up two of his sons as hostages. The confederates left Sir John Kennaway, the British plenipotentiary, to settle the conditions of the treaty, but when it was completed, Hurry Punt, the Mahratta general-in-chief added a supplemental demand of sixty lacs of rupees for himself and the Nizam's general, as a reasonable fee for their labours in the negotiation. This sum was subsequently reduced to one-half that amount. From documents found on the capture of Seringapatam, in 1799, it was discovered that both the Mahrattas and the Nizam were all this time engaged in a clandestine correspondence with Tippoo, the object of which was unconsciously but effectually defeated by the signature of the preliminaries by Lord Cornwallis on the 23rd, and the arrival of the hostages on the 25th of

February. The youths were conveyed with much ceremony to the Governor-General's tent, and received with distinguished courtesy. A crore of rupees had also been sent in, when Tippoo, finding that the little principality of Coorg which he had destined to destruction for the assistance afforded to the English was to be included in the territory he was required to cede, not only remonstrated against the demand of what he termed one of the gates of Seringapatam, but manifested a disposition to renew hostilities. Lord Cornwallis, however, made preparations for pressing the siege with such promptitude, that Tippoo was speedily brought to reason. The tripartite treaty had provided that the territories conquered by the joint exertions of the allies should be equally divided among them. The Mahrattas, as the preceding narrative will show, had given no assistance in the war, and the Nizam's force had done nothing but consume provisions and forage, but Lord Cornwallis was determined to adhere to the original compact with the most scrupulous fidelity, and made over a third of the indemnity, as well as of the territory, to each of the confederates, annexing another third, of the value of forty lacs of rupees a year, to the dominions of the Company. It comprised the district of Dindigul in the south, and of the Baramahal in the east, including several important passes into Mysore, and a large strip of fertile territory with great commercial resources on the western coast, which was annexed to Bombay, and formed the first real domain of that Presidency.

Proposals to relinquish territory, 1780-1793.

This was the first acquisition of territory since it had been resolved to control the growth of the British empire in India by Acts of Parliament. Mr. Pitt, on the introduction of his India Bill, in 1784, stated that his first and principal object would be to prevent the Governor of Bengal from being ambitious, and bent on conquest; and his chief objection to Hastings was, that he had endeavoured to extend the British dominions in India. The dread of territorial expansion was, in fact, the prevailing bugbear of the

day. But neither Hastings, nor any other statesman in England or in India, had ever entertained any such design. On the contrary, Hastings was at one time prepared to relinquish all the Northern Sircars. Clive had given back the entire kingdom of Oude, when it had been forfeited by the result of the war which the Nabob vizier had wantonly waged against the Company, and he denounced any attempt to extend the British territories beyond the Curumnussa. Lord Cornwallis, soon after he assumed office, expressed his wish to withdraw from the Malabar coast, and to reduce Bombay to a mere factory, subordinate to Calcutta or Madras; and Lord Shelburne, when Prime Minister of England in 1782, proposed to give up everything except Bombay and Bengal; and, had Lord Cornwallis accepted the office of Governor-General when it was first proposed to him, he would probably have taken out orders to abandon the Madras Presidency. If the extent of the British dominions in India had depended, therefore, on the wishes, or the policy of its rulers, so far from being ambitiously expanded, it would apparently have been reduced within very narrow limits.

Encroachments of native princes, 1793.

Those who took the lead in the government of India at this period, had evidently but a partial knowledge of its early history and polity, of the character of its princes, or of the position in which England was placed. From time immemorial, aggression had been the life-blood of all Indian monarchies. Twenty-five centuries before Mr. Pitt's time, the father of Hindoo legislation had placed conquest among the foremost of regal virtues. "What the king," says Munoo, "has not gained, let him strive to gain by military strength;" and this is, perhaps, the only injunction of the Hindoo shastras, which Hindoo princes have never forgotten. The same aggressive principle was adopted by the Mahomedan conquerors, not only in reference to infidel princes, but to those of the "true faith." Every new dynasty, as it arose with the elastic vigour of youth, continued to attack and appropriate the territories of its neighbours, till

it became itself effete, and was in its turn absorbed by new adventurers. For more than ten centuries there had been no settled kingdom, guarded by a respect for prescriptive rights, anxious to maintain peace with its neighbours, and content with its ancient boundaries. In every direction, the continent had presented an unbroken series of intrigue, violence and aggression.

The position of the English, 1756—1793.

At the period which this narrative has reached, the political cauldron in India was seething with more than ordinary violence. The four chief powers, the Peshwa, the Nizam, Tippoo, and Sindia, had been established within the brief period of sixty years by usurpation, and were kept alive by the impulse of aggression. Every year had witnessed some invasion of the right of some prince in Hindostan or the Deccan. It was at this juncture that the English appeared on the scene, and took up arms to defend their factories. By the superiority of their valour and discipline, they became a first-rate military power, and, consequently, an object of jealousy to all the belligerent princes of India. It was the restlessness and encroachment of those princes, and not the ambition of English governors which gave rise to nearly all the wars in which they were engaged. Admitting that they had any right to be in India at all, the increase of their power and possessions was the inevitable effect of that law of progression to which all new dynasties were subject. From the very first they were placed in a state of antagonism to all those who dreaded their power, and coveted their possessions. The slightest appearance of weakness, and, too often, even the exhibition of moderation—a virtue unknown in India—became the signal of aggressive assaults. When the aggressor was conquered, it appeared to be the dictate of prudence to prevent the renewal of hostilities by reducing his resources, and appropriating a part of his territories. And thus was the British empire in India gradually extended by a mysterious but inexorable necessity, which overpowered, not only the

reluctance of English governors, and the denunciations of patriots, but even the omnipotence of Parliament.

Censure of Lord Cornwallis in the House, 1793.

The conduct of Lord Cornwallis was not allowed to pass without censure in the House of Commons, more especially from Mr. Francis, who had been the instrument of annexing the province of Benares to the Company's territories. The war which Lord Cornwallis considered "an absolute and cruel necessity," forced on him by the ungovernable ambition and violence of Tippoo, was stigmatised as unjust and ambitious, and the treaties of alliance he had formed with the Nizam and the Poona durbar were affirmed to be infamous. Lord Porchester went so far as to assert that the war was founded on avarice, but the charge was triumphantly refuted by the fact that Lord Cornwallis had not only been subject to a loss of nearly three lacs of rupees by it, but had relinquished his share of the prize-money, which came to four lacs and a half more—a generous act which was nobly emulated by General Medows. The House ratified all the measures of the Governor-General, including the large acquisition of territory which he had made, and the king conferred on him the dignity of Marquis. The precedent has been scrupulously maintained since that time, and every Governor-General who has enlarged the British empire in India, has received the thanks of Parliament, and has been decorated with honours by the Crown.

Reduction of Tippoo's power, 1793.

The progress of the war demonstrated beyond question, that of the three native powers in the Deccan, Tippoo was by far the strongest. Both the Nizam and the Mahrattas were found to entertain the most lively dread of his power and his ambition, and they were brought to feel that they could not have defended themselves effectually from his encroachments, without the aid of an English army. The power of Tippoo was effectually reduced by the alienation of one-half his territorial resources, which, before the peace, were reckoned at about two crores and a

half of rupees. The Nizam and the Poona durbar had exhibited such inefficiency during the campaigns, as to reduce themselves to a very subordinate political position, and the prestige of British power had been in a corresponding degree augmented. The deference paid to the Governor-General both by friends and enemies placed the British name and consequence in a light never known before in India. After this period, for half a century, there were no more treaties of Mangalore, or conventions of Wurgaum, but the British authorities dictated their own terms in every negotiation.

CHAPTER XVII.

LORD CORNWALLIS'S ADMINISTRATION—REVENUE AND JUDICIAL REFORMS—POWER OF SINDIA.

Lord Cornwallis's revenue reforms, 1793.

THE brilliant success of the Mysore war reflected the highest credit on Lord Cornwallis, but the permanent renown of his administration rests upon his revenue and judicial institutions, which form one of the most important epochs in the history of British India.

Rise of the zemindars.

The resources of government in India had been derived from time immemorial, almost exclusively from the land, a certain proportion of the produce of which was considered the inalienable right of the sovereign. The settlement of the land revenue was, therefore, a question of the greatest magnitude, and embraced, not only the financial strength of the state, but the prosperity of its subjects. Two centuries before the period of which we treat, Toder Mull, the great financier of Akbar, had made a settlement of the lower provinces, directly with the cultivators, after an accurate survey and valuation of the lands. To collect the rents from the ryots, and transmit them of the treasury, agents were

placed in various revenue circles, and remunerated for their labour by a per centage on the collections. The office of collector speedily became hereditary, from the constant tendency of every office in India to become so, and, also from the obvious convenience of continuing the agency in the family which was in possession of the local records, and acquainted with the position of the ryots, and the nature of the lands. The collector thus became responsible for the government rent, and was entrusted with all the powers necessary for realising it. He was permitted to entertain a military force, which it was his constant aim to augment, to increase his own consequence. His functions were gradually enlarged, and came eventually to embrace the control of the police and the adjudication of rights. The collector was thus transformed into a zemindar, and assumed the title and dignity of raja, and became, in effect, the master of the district.

Evils of the revenue system, 1772—1790.

The English government had from the first treated the zemindars as simple collectors, and ousted them without hesitation when others offered more for the lands than they were prepared to pay. But this uncertainty of tenure, and this repeated change of agency was found to be equally detrimental to the improvement of the lands, the welfare of the ryots, and the interests of the state. Under such a system there could be no application of capital to the operations of agriculture; the estates became deteriorated, while the remissions which Government was obliged to make from time to time, overbalanced any profits arising from competition. The Court of Directors complained that the revenue was steadily diminishing, and that the country itself was becoming impoverished and exhausted. Lord Cornwallis, soon after his arrival, declared that agriculture and internal commerce were in a state of rapid decay, that no class of society appeared to be flourishing, except the money-lenders, and that both cultivators and landlords were sinking into poverty and wretchedness. The

evils under which the people groaned, he affirmed to be enormous.

Remedy proposed by the Court of Directors, 1786.

The Court of Directors felt the necessity of adopting some bold and decisive measure to arrest the progress of ruin, and, under this impression, framed their memorable letter of the 12th of April, 1786, which became the basis of the important revenue settlement, begun and completed by Lord Cornwallis. They condemned the employment of farmers of the revenue and temporary renters, who had no interest in the land, and defrauded the state, while they oppressed the ryots. They directed that the engagements should be made with the old zemindars, not, however, as a matter of right, but of fiscal policy. On the presumption, moreover, that sufficient information must have been acquired regarding the estates, they desired that the settlement should be made for a period of ten years, and eventually declared permanent, if it appeared to be satisfactory. But Lord Cornwallis found that the Court had been essentially mistaken in this conclusion. Twenty years had been employed in efforts to procure information regarding the land, and five schemes had been devised for the purpose, but the Government was still as ignorant as ever on the subject. The Collectors had no knowledge of the value of the lands, of the nature of tenures, or of the rights of landlord and tenant. They had no intercourse with the people, and were ignorant of their language. They saw only through the eyes of their *omlas*, or native officers, whose sole object was to mystify them, in order the more effectually to plunder the country. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, suspended the execution of the orders of the Court, and circulated interrogatories with the view of obtaining the necessary information, and, in the mean time, made the settlements annual.

Proprietary right in the lands, 1793.

The proprietary right in the land had been considered, from time immemorial, to be vested in the sovereign; and although Mr. Francis and some others had thought fit to adopt a different opinion, the great

majority of the public servants adhered to the ancient doctrine. But, after the investigations were completed, the Governmemt, acting upon a generous and enlightened policy, determined to conrer on the zemindars the unexpected boon of a permanent interest in the soil. Before this concession, the zemindars, from the highest to the lowest, had been mere tenants at will, liable at any time to be deprived by the state landlord of the estates they occupied. But the regulations of 1793, in which the new fiscal policy was embodied, converted the soil into a property, and bestowed it upon them. A large and opulent class of landholders was thus created, in the hope that they would seek the welfare of the ryot, stimulate cultivation, and augment the general wealth of the country. It was found, however, to be much more easy to determine the relation between the government and the landlord, than between the landlord and his tenant. The rights of the cultivators were more ancient and absolute than those of the zemindar; but the zemindar had always practised every species of oppression on them, extorting every cowrie which could be squeezed from them by violence, and leaving them little beyond a rag and a hovel. Mr. Shore, who superintended the settlement, maintained that some interference on the part of government was indispensably necessary to effect an adjustment of the demands of the zemindar on the ryot. Lord Cornwallis affirmed that whoever cultivated the land, the zemindar *could* receive no more than the established rate, which in most cases was equal to what the cultivator could pay. The difficulty was compromised rather than adjusted by declaring that the zemindar should not be at liberty to enhance the rents of the "independent talookdars" and two other classes of renters who paid the fixed sums due to the state through him, simply for the convenience of government. The zemindar was also restricted from enhancing the rent of the class of tenants called *khoodkast*, who cultivated the lands of the village in which they resided, except when their rents were

Restrictions on the landholders, 1793.

below the current rates, or when their tenures had been improperly obtained. The remaining lands of the estate he was at liberty to let in any manner and at any rate he pleased. For the protection of the resident cultivators it was enacted that the zemindar should keep a register of their tenures, and grant them pottahs, or leases, specifying the rent they were to pay, and that for any infringment of these rules the ryot was to seek a remedy in an action against him in the civil courts. But the registers were not kept, and pottahs were rarely given; and, as to the remedy, a poor man has little chance against his wealthy oppressor in courts where the native officers are universally venal, and their influence is paramount. By the unremitted contrivances of the zemindar, and changes of residence on the part of the ryot,—which extinguished all his rights,—the class of resident cultivators has been gradually diminished; and the ryots have been placed at the mercy of the zemindar. The absence of any clear and defined rules for the protection of the cultivator in his ancient right not to pay more than a limited and moderate rent, and to be kept in possession of his fields as long as he did so, is an unquestionable blot on a system which in other respects was highly beneficial.

Settlement made permanent, 1793.

After the settlement had been completed, the great and all important question came on whether it should be decennial or permanent. Mr. Shore, the highest authority in all revenue questions in India at the time, strenuously opposed every proposal to make it irrevocable. He argued that government did not yet possess sufficient knowledge of the capabilities of the land, and of the collections, to make an equitable distribution of the assessment. But Lord Cornwallis replied, with great force, that if we had not acquired this knowledge after twenty years of research, and after the collectors had been employed especially for three years in seeking for it, we could never expect to obtain it, and the settlement must be indefinitely postponed. He considered that the boon which it was proposed to confer

on the zemindars would give them an irresistible inducement to promote cultivation, and to render their ryots comfortable. Mr. Shore, with a more correct appreciation of the character of the zemindars, affirmed that they had never been alive to their true interests; that they were utterly ignorant of the rudiments of agricultural science; that the whole zemindary system was a mere conflict of extortion on their part and resistance on the part of the ryot, the zemindar exacting whatever he had any chance of wringing from him, and the ryot refusing every cowrie he could withhold; and he argued that the zemindar would not assume new principles of action because his tenure was made permanent. But Lord Cornwallis was resolute in his opinion that a fixed and unalterable assessment was the only panacea for the evils which afflicted the country, and he strongly urged it upon Mr. Dundas. Some of the leading members of the Court of Directors, partly influenced by the weighty opinion of Mr. Shore, and partly by their own convictions, adopted a contrary opinion; but, as a body, they could not be persuaded to give their attention to the measure. Mr. Dundas resolved, therefore, that it should originate with the Board of Control. Mr. Pitt, who had for many years studied every Indian question with great assiduity, shut himself up with Mr. Dundas at his country seat at Wimbledon, determined to master the subject in all its bearings and results. Mr. Charles Grant, who had passed many years of his life in India, and combined the largest experience with the most enlightened views,—though he had not been considered worthy a place among the Directors,—was invited to assist Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas in these deliberations, and he gave his suffrage for the perpetuity of the settlement. Mr. Pitt at length declared his conviction of the wisdom of this measure, and a despatch was accordingly drawn up by Mr. Dundas and sent to the Court of Directors. The subject was too large for their consideration in general, and the few who understood it, finding that the Ministers of the Crown had made up their minds on the point,

thought it best to acquiesce, and the dispatch was sent out to India.

Result of the settlement.

The permanent settlement of Bengal and Behar was promulgated in Calcutta on the 22nd of March, 1793. It was the broadest and most important administrative act which the British government had adopted since its establishment in India. At a period when the revenue derived from the land formed the bone and muscle of the public resources, and while one-third of the country was a jungle, the assessment was fixed for ever. No margin was allowed for the inevitable increase of expenditure in the defence of the country, and in the development of civilised institutions; and there was moreover the unquestionable conviction that where the rent happened to be excessive, it must be reduced; where it was inadequate, it could not be increased. With the experience of seventy years before us, we are enabled to discover many defects and inequalities in the settlement, and it would be a miracle if this were not the case; but we must not forget the impending ruin of the country which it was intended to avert. It was a bold, brave, and wise measure. Under the genial influence of this territorial charter, which for the first time created indefeasable rights and interests in the soil, population has increased, cultivation has been extended, and a gradual improvement has become visible in the habits and comfort of the people; and the revenue of the provinces of Bengal and Behar have increased to fourteen crores of rupees a-year, of which only four crores are derived from the lands. Before dismissing the subject it may be worthy of remark, that with all his benevolent and generous sympathies for the natives, Lord Cornwallis was not able to advance beyond the traditional creed of England, that all her colonial and foreign possessions were to be administered primarily and emphatically for her benefit. No effort was to be spared to secure the protection, the improvement, and the happiness of the people; but it was with an eye exclusively to the credit and the interests of the governing power. He closes his great minute

on the permanent settlement with this characteristic remark: "The real value of Bengal and Behar to Britain depends on the continuance of its ability to furnish a large annual investment to Europe, to assist in providing an investment for China, and to supply the pressing wants of the other presidencies."

Reform of the civil courts, 1793.

The administration of Lord Cornwallis was also rendered memorable by the great changes introduced into the judicial institutions of the Presidency. The collector of the revenue had hitherto acted also as judge and magistrate. Lord Cornwallis separated the financial from the judicial functions, and confined the collector to his fiscal duties, placing him under a Board of Revenue at the Presidency. A civil court was established in each district and in the principal cities, with a judge, a register to determine cases of inferior value, and one or more covenanted assistants. Every person in the country was placed under the jurisdiction of these courts, with the exception of British subjects, who were, by Act of Parliament, amenable to the Supreme Court. To receive appeals from the zillah and city courts, four Courts of Appeal were constituted at Calcutta, Dacca, Moorshedabad, and Patna, and from their decisions an appeal lay to the Sudder Court at the Presidency, nominally composed of the Governor-General and the members of Council. All fees of every description were abolished, and the expenses of a suit restricted to the remuneration of pleaders and the expense of witnesses.

Criminal courts, 1793.

For the administration of criminal law, it was ordained that the judges of the four Courts of Appeal should proceed on circuit, from zillah to zillah, within their respective circles, and hold jail deliveries twice in the year. The Mahomedan law, divested of some of its most revolting precepts, was the criminal code of the courts, and the Mahomedan law officer, on the completion of the trial at which he had been present, was required to declare the sentence prescribed by that code, which was carried into execu-

tion if the judge concurred in it, and if he did not, it was referred to the Sudder Court, which was also constituted a Court of Appeal in criminal cases. The zillah judges were likewise invested with the powers of a magistrate, and authorized to pass and execute sentences in trivial offences, and, in other cases, to apprehend the delinquent and commit him for trial before the judges of circuit. Each zillah was divided into districts of about twenty miles square, to each of which an officer called a *daroga* was appointed, with authority to arrest offenders on a written charge, and when the offence was bailable, to take security for appearance before the magistrate. Of all the provisions of the new system this proved to be the most baneful. The daroga, who was often fifty miles from the seat of control, enjoyed almost unlimited power of extortion, and became the scourge of the country.

The code of 1793.

For more than ten years, the clear and simple rules for the administration of justice, drawn up by Sir Elijah Impey, in 1781, had been the guide of the Courts. Lord Cornwallis considered it important that his new institutions should have all the certainty of fixed rules. "It was essential," he said, "to the future prosperity of the British in Bengal that all regulations affecting the rights, persons, and property of their subjects, should be formed into a code, and printed, with translations, in the country languages." Mr. George Barlow, a civil servant of mark at the time, and subsequently Governor-General, *ad interim*, and Governor of Madras, had the chief hand in manipulating the code of 1793, more especially in the police and judicial department. He was ignorant of the principles or practice of law, except as he might have picked up some notion of them in the country courts. He expanded the ordinances of Sir Elijah into an elaborate volume of regulations, altering the original rules, without improving them. This code, however valuable as a monument of British benevolence, was altogether unsuited to a people who had been accustomed to have justice distributed by simple and rational enquiry. The

course of procedure was loaded with formalities, and the multiplication of puzzling and pedantic rules only served to bewilder the mind, and to defeat the object in view. There was, in fact, too much law for there to be much justice. Every suit became a game of chess, and afforded the amplest scope for oriental ingenuity and chicanery. "Justice was thus made sour" by delay, and equity was smothered by legal processes. To add to the impediments thrown in the course of justice, it was administered in a language equally foreign to the judge and the suitors.

Exclusion of natives from power, 1793.

Notwithstanding the wisdom exhibited in Lord Cornwallis's institutions, they were deformed by one great and radical error. He considered it necessary that the whole administration of the country should be placed exclusively in the hands of covenanted servants of the Company, to the entire exclusion of all native agency. In the criminal department, the only native officer entrusted with any power was the *Daroga*, upon an allowance of twenty-five rupees a month. In the administration of civil justice, cases of only the most trivial amount were made over to a native judge, under the title of Moonsiff; but while the salary of the European judge was raised to 2,500 rupees a month, the Moonsiff was deprived of all pay, and left to find a subsistence by a small commission on the value of suits; in other words, by the encouragement of litigation. Under all former conquerors, civil and military offices, with few exceptions, were open to the natives of the country, who might aspire, with confidence, to the post of minister, and to the command of armies. But under the impolitic system established in 1793, the prospects of legitimate and honourable ambition were altogether closed against the natives of the country. If the peculiar nature of British rule rendered it necessary to retain all political and military power in the hands of Europeans, this was no reason for denying the natives every opportunity of rising to distinction in the judicial departments, for which they were eminently qualified by

their industrious habits, and their natural sagacity, not less than by the knowledge they possessed of the language and character of their fellow-countrymen. The fatal effects of this exclusion were speedily visible in the disrepute and inefficiency of the whole administration. With only three or four European functionaries in a district, which often contained a million of inhabitants, the machine of government must have stood still without the services of natives. But this power and influence from which it was impossible to exclude them, being exercised without responsibility, was used for the purposes of oppression, and the courts of every description became the hot-bed of corruption and venality.

Capture of Pondicherry, 1793

The remaining events of 1793 are few and unimportant. Information having been received that France had declared war against England, Lord Cornwallis issued orders for the assemblage of a large force at Madras, intending to take the command of it in person, and march against Pondicherry. He embarked at Calcutta on the 25th of August, but was twenty-five days in reaching Madras. On his arrival there, he found that Colonel Brathwaite had proceeded to invest Pondicherry, and that, in consequence of the insubordination of the French troops, the governor had been obliged to capitulate a few days before. Lord Cornwallis embarked for England in October, after a memorable reign of seven years, during which period he had given strength and stability to the power established by the daring of Clive, and consolidated by the genius of Hastings. The dignity and firmness which he exhibited in his intercourse with the princes of India conciliated and overawed them, while the supreme authority which he exercised over all the Presidencies, convinced them that a new element of vigour had been introduced into the British government in India, which rendered it more formidable than ever.

Progress of Sindia's encroachments, 1784.

The treatv of Salbye, which Sindia had concluded with Hastings, on the part of the Mahratta powers in 1782, raised him to a commanding

position in the politics of India. He was no longer a mere feudatory of the Peshwa, but an independent chief, the ally of the British Government, who had honoured his capital with the presence of their representative. He determined to lose no time in improving these advantages, and of pushing his schemes of ambition in Hindostan. The state of affairs at Delhi was eminently favourable to these views. The imbecile emperor was a puppet in the hands of Afrasiab Khan, who invoked the aid of Sindia, in his master's name, to demolish the power of his rival, Mahomed Beg. Sindia accepted the invitation with alacrity, and advanced with a large force to Agra, where he had a meeting with the emperor in October, 1784. Afrasiab was soon after assassinated, and the authority of the imperial court, and the influence connected with it, were at once transferred to Sindia. He refused the title of Ameer-ool-omrah, but accepted that of Vakeel-ool-mutluk, or Regent of the empire, for the Peshwa, and the post of deputy for himself, and was thus nominally invested with the executive authority of the Mogul throne. The emperor likewise conferred on him the command of the imperial forces, and assigned to him the provinces of Agra and Delhi, out of which he agreed to pay 65,000 rupees monthly, for the expenditure of the emperor's household. His ambitious views were thus gratified sooner than he had expected, and in the elation of success, and encouraged likewise by the departure of Hastings, he demanded the arrears of *chout* for Bengal and Behar, but Mr. Macpherson not only rejected the claim with indignation, but constrained him to offer a humble apology for having made it.

Sindia attacks the Rajpoots, and is defeated, 1787

The resources of the provinces of Agra and Delhi, which had been exhausted by constant hostilities, were found inadequate to the maintenance of the large force which Sindia entertained, and he sequestered the jaygeers of the Mahomedan nobles of the court. A powerful party was thus raised against him, which received secret encouragement from the emperor himself. Sindia then pro-

ceeded to despoil the Rajpoots, and at the gates of Jeypore made a demand of sixty lacs of rupees, as tribute due to the imperial treasury. The greater portion of this sum was paid, but when his general appeared to claim the remainder, the Rajpoot tribes made common cause, and attacked and routed him. Sindia advanced with all his troops to encounter them, but Mahomed Beg, who joined his standard after the murder of Afrasiab, fearing that the confiscation of his estates would not be long delayed, if Sindia were victorious, chose the eve of the battle for going over to the Rajpoots. He was killed in the engagement which followed, but his gallant nephew, Ismael Beg, one of the best native soldiers of the age, rallied the troops, and Sindia was obliged to retire. He was preparing to renew the conflict, on the third day, when the whole of the emperor's troops went over in a body to Ismael Beg, with eighty pieces of cannon. Sindia had not been reduced to such straits since he fled from the field of Paniput, but in no emergency did he evince greater fortitude and conduct. Fortunately for him, the Rajpoots, satisfied with their success, retired to their respective homes, instead of following up the victory. They left Ismael Beg to conduct the war alone, and he laid siege to Agra, the fortifications of which had been greatly strengthened by Sindia. In this extremity, he addressed Nana Furnuvese, and importuned him to aid him in maintaining the Mahratta ascendancy in Hindostan. But Nana was jealous of the growing power of Sindia, who he knew was aiming at the supreme control of the Mahratta commonwealth, and although he did not fail to send forward troops under Holkar and Ali Bahadoor, they were intended rather to watch and check his movements than to assist them.

Gholam Kadir, 1788. In this position of affairs, the infamous Gholam Kadir, a turbulent soldier of fortune, the son of the Rohilla chief, Zabita Khan, who had died in June, 1785, appeared on the scene. Ismael Beg was still engaged in the siege of Agra; Gholam Kadir, with his body of free

lances joined him there, and Sindia advanced to attack them both. On the 24th of April, they raised the siege and advanced sixteen miles to meet him; Sindia was completely overpowered, and obliged to retreat to Bhurtpore, the capital of the friendly Jauts. Gholam Kadir was soon after called off to defend his own jaygeer from the encroachments of the Sikhs, by whom it was invaded at the instigation of Sindia, who took advantage of the circumstance to attack Ismael Beg, under the walls of Agra. The battle was fought on the 18th day of June, 1788, and terminated in the complete dispersion of Ismael's troops. He immediately joined the camp of Gholam Kadir, and they advanced together towards Delhi, but the emperor refused to admit either of them into it. Gholam Kadir, however, succeeded in corrupting one of the emperor's confidential officers, seized the gates of the city, and occupied the palace and the citadel. He then let loose his licentious soldiers on the city, which was for two months subjected to a degree of violence, rapine and barbarity, unexampled even in the gloomy annals of that imperial metropolis, which had been so repeatedly devoted to spoliation. The wives and daughters, and female relatives of the emperor were exposed and dishonoured, while some were, more mercifully, put to death. To crown his infamy, the ruffian put out the eyes of the wretched monarch in their sockets with his dagger. Ismael Beg turned with horror from the sight of these atrocities, and on receiving the promise of a jaygeer, entered the service of Sindia, who advanced to Delhi, reseated the emperor on the throne, and did everything that humanity could suggest, to alleviate the sorrows of the old man, then in his sixty-fifth year. A force was sent after Gholam Kadir who took shelter in Meerut, where he defended himself with vigour, but seeing his case desperate, mounted a swift horse and fled across the country, but was captured and brought into the presence of Sindia, who subjected him to the most barbarous mutilations, under which he expired.

Gholam Kadir blinds the emperor, 1788.

Sindia's European force, 1785–1791.

The success which had attended the exertions of Sindia was owing, in a great measure, to the force which he had organised under European officers. He could not fail to perceive that the native Mahratta soldier, though admirably adapted for marauding expeditions, was ill suited for regular warfare, or for the maintenance of such a power as he was endeavouring to establish; and he resolved to create a Sepoy army on the model of the English battalions. The Count de Boigne, a native of Savoy, had come to India in quest of service, and circumstances brought him to the camp of Sindia, by whom he was immediately entertained. He was an officer of distinguished talents and great military experience, having served both in Europe and in India, and a large force was gradually formed under his direction, consisting chiefly of Rajpoots and Mahomedans, commanded and disciplined by European officers, many of whom were English adventurers. The force was eventually raised to 18,000 regular infantry, 6,000 irregular and 2,000 regular cavalry, and 600 Persian horse. With the aid of these regiments Sindia was enabled to fight pitched battles, and to capture towns and forts, as no Mahratta chief had ever done before. A foundry was likewise established, and 200 cannon cast. The equipment of this formidable force completely established Sindia's authority in Hindostan, and made him the most powerful member of the Mahratta confederation.

Battle of Patun, June 17, 1790.

The turbulent Ismael Beg did not long remain faithful to Sindia, and he was joined by the Rajpoot rajas of Jeypore and Joudhpore. Sindia attacked the allies at Patun, on the 20th of June, 1790. Ismael fought with his usual bravery, and thrice charged through Sindia's regular infantry, cutting down the artillerymen at their guns. Holkar's force stood aloof during the engagement, and the issue of the battle was for a time doubtful, but the personal gallantry of De Boigne and his European officers, and the firmness of his disciplined troops, secured the day to his

master, though not, as it was affirmed, without the loss of 11,000 men. Ismael Beg fled with a small retinue to Jeypore, all his guns were captured, and ten of his battalions grounded their arms and surrendered. The Rajpoots, however, still continued to maintain the war, and in the succeeding year a second battle was fought, at Mairta, in which De Boigne achieved another victory. The Rajpoot tribes were now apparently at Sindia's mercy, but the equivocal conduct of Holkar induced him to grant them peace on the payment of a moderate tribute. The raja of Joudhpore, however, who had assassinated Sindia's brother, Jayapa, thirty-two years before, was now required to surrender Ajmere to atone for the deed.

Battle of Mairta, 12th Sept., 1791.

Sindia marches to Poona, 1792.

Sindia had offered to join the alliance against Tippoo, in 1790, on the condition that two battalions of English troops should accompany him to Poona, that his own conquests in Hindostan should be guaranteed, and that he should be assisted to effect the complete subjugation of the Rajpoot states. Lord Cornwallis necessarily rejected these terms, upon which he entered into correspondence with Tippoo—all the while, however, professsing the warmest attachment for the Company—and assumed a threatening attitude towards the Peshwa; and, if the arms of the allies had met with any serious reverse in the war with Tippoo, would doubtless have made common cause with that prince against them. That he might be in a position to take advantage of circumstances, and establish his authority at the Mahratta capital, he resolved to proceed thither, much against the wishes of Nana Furnuvese, who was justly apprehensive of his designs. After the battle of Patun, he had obtained from the emperor, for the third time, patents constituting the Peshwa Vakeel-ool-mootluk, or regent of the empire, and Sindia and his descendants, hereditary deputies. It may serve to give some idea of the prestige which still lingered about the Mogul throne, that, at a time when the emperor was dependant on Sindia for the daily expenses of his house-

hold, such a sunnud as this was considered an important acquisition in the Deccan. As a pretext for appearing at Poona, he gave out that he was proceeding to invest the Peshwa with the robes of his new office. He arrived at the capital on the 11th of June, 1792, and in order to exhibit his influence over the imperial house, as well as to gratify the feelings of the Hindoos, he published an edict he had extorted from the emperor, forbidding the slaughter of bullocks and cows throughout the Mogul dominions. Nana Furnuvese used every effort to prevent the Peshwa's accepting the title conferred on him, but Sindia had brought a large variety of rarities with him from Hindostan which delighted the fancy of the young prince, and, by making constant arrangements for his amusement, obtained a complete ascendancy over him. A day was accordingly fixed for the investiture.

The grand investiture, July, 1792.

Sindia spared no pains to render the ceremony imposing. A grand suite of tents was pitched in the vicinity of the town, and the Peshwa proceeded to them with the greatest pomp. At the farthest end of the great tent of state a throne was erected to represent that of the Great Mogul, on which the imperial sunnud and the insignia were placed. The Peshwa approached it and placed on it the usual offering of a hundred and one gold mohurs, and took his seat on the right, when Sindia's secretary read out the patent, as well as the edict abolishing the slaughter of kine. The Peshwa was then invested with the gorgeous robes and splendid jewels of the office, and returned to Poona amidst the acclamations of thousands, and salvos of artillery. The grandeur of the scene exceeded everything which had ever been seen in the Mahratta capital before. It was on this occasion that Sindia exhibited one of the most extraordinary specimens of mock humility recorded in Indian history. It must be borne in mind that three months before this time, Tippoo had been stripped of half his dominions, and that Sindia was now the most powerful native prince in India, and master of an army composed of sixteen battalions

of regular infantry, five hundred pieces of cannon, and a hundred thousand horse. But he dismounted from his elephant at the gates of Poona, and in the great hall of audience placed himself below all the hereditary nobles of the state. The Peshwa entered the room, and desired him to take his seat among the highest dignitaries, when he replied that he was unworthy of that honour, and untying a bundle which he carried under his arm, produced a pair of slippers, which he put before the Peshwa, saying, "This is my occupation; it was that of my father," and it was with great apparent reluctance that he allowed himself to be conducted to the honourable seat prepared for him.

Battle with Holkar, 1792.

Sindia and Nana Furnuvese, after this transaction, maintained an outward appearance of respect and civility, though plotting each other's destruction; but their respective forces in Hindostan could not be restrained from open hostility. They had been engaged together in levying tribute from the Rajpoots, and had captured two forts, but quarrelled about the division of the spoil. De Boigne, with 20,000 horse and 9,000 regular infantry, fell on Holkar's army of 30,000 horse, and four battalions disciplined by Europeans. The conflict was desperate, and the four battalions were completely annihilated, only one European officer escaping the carnage. Holkar retreated with the wreck of his army, and on his route sacked and burnt Sindia's capital, Oojein. This battle rendered Sindia absolute in Hindostan, and served to aggravate the intrigues at Poona, and to deepen the alarm of Nana Furnuvese. But he was unexpectedly relieved from all anxiety by the death of Sindia, on the 12th of February, 1794. Had he lived a few months longer, a contest for the office of chief minister of the Peshwa, and the supreme command of the Mahratta power would have been inevitable. For thirty-five years he may be said to have passed his life in the camp, devoting himself to the improvement of his army, and the increase of his resources. His character has been aptly

Death of Sindia, 12th Feb., 1794.

summed up in a few words, by the great historian of the Mahrattas, "he was a man of great political sagacity, and considerable genius, of deep artifice, restless ambition and implacable revenge." He received from his father a small principality; he bequeathed to his successor, a lad of thirteen, a kingdom comprising all the territory from the Sutlege to Allahabad, two-thirds of Malwa, and the fairest provinces in the Deccan, as well as the finest native army in India.

Enlargement of the powers of the Governor-General, 1786.

The proceedings in England in connection with the government of India, subsequent to Mr. Pitt's Bill in 1784, will now claim attention. The Regulating Act of 1773, which created the office of Governor-General, made him responsible for the safety of India, but gave him only a single vote in Council, and rendered him liable, on every occasion, to be overruled by his colleagues. The distractions of Hastings's administration are to be attributed, in a great measure, to this anomalous clause, which frequently brought the Government to a dead lock. Lord Cornwallis therefore refused to accept the office, subject to this encumbrance, and a Bill was introduced and passed in 1786 to enable the Governor-General and the Governors of the minor Presidencies to act in opposition to the opinion of the Council, when they deemed it necessary for the welfare of the country, the counsellors being at liberty to record the reasons of their dissent. Of the wisdom of this measure no better proof can be offered than the fact that it has worked beneficially for nearly eighty years.

The Declaratory Act, 1788.

The gravest movement of this period, however, was the consummation of Mr. Pitt's plan of transferring the powers of government from the Company to the Crown. In the year 1787, a conflict of parties arose in the republic of Holland; the French and the English Governments espoused opposite sides, and there was every prospect of a rupture between them. The interference of France in the politics of India, had been for half a century the great object of dread to the Court of Directors, and under the apprehen-

sion that they might have again to encounter it, they now solicited the Ministry to augment the European force in India, and four regiments were immediately raised for their service. Happily, the peace with France was not interrupted, but, as soon as the storm had blown over, the Court of Directors, anxious to save the cost of the regiments, declared that they were no longer necessary. Lord Cornwallis had earnestly recommended the augmentation of the European force in India, to give greater security to our position, and the Board of Control therefore determined that the regiments should be sent out. The Court of Directors, however, refused to allow them to embark in their ships, and as the contest, which thus arose between the India House and the Ministry, involved the great question of the substantial powers of government, Mr. Pitt referred the question to the decision of Parliament.

Discussions in Parliament, 1788.

On the 25th of February, 1788, Mr. Pitt introduced a Bill to declare the meaning of the Act of 1781, and affirmed that "there was no step which could have been taken by the Court of Directors before the passing of that Bill, touching the military and political concerns of India, and the collection, management, and application of the revenues, which the Board of Control had not a right to take by the provisions of that Bill." He stated, moreover, that in proposing his Bill of 1781 it was his intention thus to transfer the whole powers of government to the Crown. The organs of the Court of Directors in the House stated that they never would have supported that measure, if they had supposed such to have been its intent; and they discovered, when too late, that in voting for Mr. Pitt's Bill they had committed an act of suicide. An objection was raised to the despatch of the regiments on the constitutional doctrine that no troops could belong to the King for which Parliament had not voted the money. Mr. Pitt thereupon stated his conviction that the army in India ought to be on one establishment, and to belong to the King, and that it was not

without an eye to such an arrangement that he had brought forward the present motion. But, notwithstanding the boundless influence which he enjoyed in the House, the members were alarmed at the immense power which he attempted to grasp. Many of his stanch supporters deserted him, and the Opposition were very sanguine in their hopes of being able to overthrow the Ministry on this occasion There were four tempestuous debates on the question, one of which was prolonged to eight o'clock in the morning. Mr. Pitt had encountered no such opposition in the present Parliament, and to prevent being beaten in the successive stages of the Bill, was under the necessity of making great concessions, and adding several conciliatory clauses to it. The Declaratory Act of 1788 rivetted on the East India Company the fetters which had been forged by the Act of 1784.

The Charter of 1793.

The period for which the exclusive privileges had been granted to the East India Company expired in 1793, and on the 23rd of April, the Court of Directors presented a petition to Parliament for the renewal of them. But new commercial and manufacturing interests had been springing up in England with great vigour since the last concession, and petitions poured into the House from Liverpool, Glasgow, Manchester, Bristol, and other seats of industry and enterprize, protesting against the continuance of a monopoly in so large a trade, and the exclusion of the country in general from any share in it. The Court of Directors appointed a Committee to draw up a reply to the petitioners, and to demonstrate that it was essential to the national interests that the East India Company should continue to be the sole agent for managing the commerce and government of India. The Ministry found the existing state of things, more especially since the Declaratory Act, exceedingly convenient to themselves, and resolved to oppose all innovation. Fortunately for the Company, Lord Corwallis, notwithstanding the Mysore war, had placed the finances of India in a more flourishing condition than they had ever been in before;

and, it may be said, than they have ever been in since. Mr. Dundas was thus enabled to ask the House, with an air of triumph, whether they were prepared to stop the tide of this prosperity, for a mere theory.

Arguments for renewing the Charter, 1793.

The arguments which he adduced for continuing the power and privileges of the East India Company were, that to throw the trade open to all England would retard the payment of the Company's debts; that it would check the growing commerce of India, and that it would inevitably lead to colonization and ensure the loss of the country to England. He objected to the dissolution of the Company, because the patronage of India, added to the other sources of influence in the Crown, would destroy the balance of the Constitution. These arguments, solemnly propounded by the Ministers, at a period when free trade was considered the direct road to ruin, were received with blind confidence by the House, and the privileges of the Company were renewed, with little modification, for a period of twenty years. To meet the clamours of the merchants and manufacturers of England, the Company was directed to allot 3,000 tons a year for private trade, but as the privilege was hampered with the heavy charges and delays of their commercial system, it was little prized, and seldom used. An effort was made by Mr. Wilberforce, one of the ablest and most enlightened members of the House, to obtain permission for missionaries and schoolmasters to proceed to India, and give voluntary instruction to the people, but he was vehemently opposed by the old Indians in the Court of Directors, who had imbibed the fantastic notion that the diffusion of knowledge would be fatal to British rule in India, and that the presence of missionaries would be followed by rebellion; and the House was persuaded by Mr. Dundas to reject the proposal.

Remarks on the Charter, 1793.

The Charter, as it is called, of 1793, may be regarded as a faithful reflection of the narrow views of the age, which, considered that the introduction of

free trade and Europeans, of missionaries and schoolmasters, into India, would sap the foundation of British authority. The experience of nearly three-quarters of a century has dispelled this hallucination. Since the extinction of the Company's monopoly, the trade, instead of being diminished, has increased twenty fold. The free admission of Europeans into India has not endangered the dominion of England; on the contrary, during the great mutiny of 1857, India was nearly lost for want of Europeans. The patronage of India has been trebled in value, and the Company has been abolished. yet, owing to the happy discovery of the principle of competitive appointments, the power of the Crown has not been increased, and the independence of Parliament has not diminished. Christian missionaries have been admitted into India and placed on the same footing as the Hindoo priest and the Mahomedan mollah, and allowed to offer instruction to the natives; and, the education of the people is now considered as much a duty of the state as the maintenance of the police; —yet the feeling of allegiance to the Crown of England has not been impaired.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF SIR JOHN SHORE, 1793—1798.

Sir John Shore Governor-General, 1793.

SIR John Shore, a distinguished member of the Company's civil service, and the author of the revenue settlement of 1793, succeeded to the government, on the departure of Lord Cornwallis, who, in a letter to Mr. Dundas on the choice of his successor, had given it as his opinion, that "nobody but a person who had never been in the service, and who was essentially unconnected with its members, who was of a rank far surpassing his associates in the government, and who had the full support of the Ministry at home, was competent for the office of Gover-

nor-General." Subsequently to the date of this letter, Sir John, then Mr. Shore, had visited England, and on his return, Lord Cornwallis wrote again to Mr. Dundas, that "seeing how greatly Mr. Shore's mind had been enlarged and improved by the visit, he desired to make an exception in his favour." Mr. Pitt, who had taken great interest in the question of the revenue settlement, had been much struck with the industry, candour and talent exhibited by Sir John Shore, and, believing him to be well suited to carry out the views of Lord Cornwallis, mentioned his name to the King as his successor. The King replied, that "No one could have been so properly thought of as Mr. Shore, unless a very proper man of distinction could be found to be Governor General at Bengal." Sir John Shore, therefore, received the appointment, and entered on the duties of his office on the 28th of October, 1793.

Guarantee treaty accepted by the Nizam, 1792–93.

The first question of importance which came up to test his powers, was connected with the politics of the Deccan. The treaty of alliance concluded with the Nizam and the Mahrattas by Lord Cornwallis in 1790, stipulated, that "if after the conclusion of the peace with Tippoo, he should attack or molest either of the contracting parties, the others shall join to punish him, the mode or conditions of effecting which shall be hereafter settled by the contracting parties." To avoid future complications, Lord Cornwallis was anxious, after the termination of the war, that the grounds on which the allied powers could demand mutual support, should be distinctly defined. He accordingly sent the draft of a "treaty of guarantee," to Poona and Hyderabad, in which he proposed that if any difference should arise between any of the confederates and Tippoo, the nature, and circumstances should be communicated to the others, and that they should not be bound to take up arms till they were convinced that he had justice on his side, and that every effort for conciliation had been exhausted. The proposal was highly acceptable to the Nizam. The Mahrattas had a long account against him, and their envoys were pressing the

settlement of it at Hyderabad, at the time when his army was employed conjointly with theirs against Tippoo. The Nizam brought forward a counter-claim of larger amount, under thirty-four heads, for contributions unjustly exacted, and revenue unjustly withheld. But he proposed to postpone the adjustment of these accounts till the war had terminated, hoping thereby to obtain the friendly interposition of the English government. He therefore welcomed the treaty of guarantee with much avidity, under the impression that it would serve to strengthen his influence with Lord Cornwallis, and counteract the hostility of the Poona durbar, who were already preparing to invade his territories.

Rejected by the Mahrattas, 1793.

The Mahrattas, on the other hand, declined any engagements which might in any measure interfere with their designs on the Nizam. Mahdajee Sindia was then at Poona, exercising a powerful influence in the councils of the state, and he did not conceal his opinion that the Company had become too powerful, and that Tippoo ought to be supported as a counterpoise to them. He denounced the proposed treaty as an arrogant assumption of authority. Nana Furnuvese, however, was anxious to cultivate a good understanding with the English government, as a check on the ambitious projects of Sindia, and prolonged the negotiations for several months. He then drew up the outline of another treaty, including in it the demand of arrears of *chout* from Tippoo, which he was well aware Lord Cornwallis would never sanction. After a twelvemonth vainly spent in these wearisome discussions, the Governor-General was obliged to abandon all hope of obtaining the concurrence of the Mahrattas in any arrangement, and to remain content with a vague and verbal assurance, that they would abide by their engagements.

Sir John Shore's neutrality, 1794-95.

At the beginning of 1794, the death of Mahdajee Sindia, the chief opponent of the Guarantee treaty, and the succession of his grand-nephew Dowlut Rao, a youth of thirteen, to his power and resources, appeared to present a favourable opportunity for the energetic

interposition of British influence to preserve the peace of India. But Sir John Shore determined to remain quiescent. The Mahrattas, who expected some decisive movement on this occasion, were not slow to perceive that the sceptre of the British power had fallen into feeble hands; and as soon as they discovered that Lord Cornwallis's successor was resolved to limit his interference to "good offices," they hastened their preparations for war with the Nizam. Tippoo likewise announced his intention of joining them to crush the Nizam, who immediately claimed from the Government of Calcutta the fulfilment of the 10th article of the treaty of 1790, which bound the contracting parties to unite in repelling his aggressions. There can be little doubt that if Lord Cornwallis had been in India at this time, his manly representations, backed by the assembly of an army on the frontier, would have been sufficient to maintain peace between the parties. But Sir John Shore lacked his spirit and resolution; he had a morbid dread of giving offence to the Mahrattas, which might end in a war, and drain the treasury, then full to the brim; and he was above all anxious to exhibit a most exemplary obedience to the Act of Parliament which discountenanced native alliances. The question which he put to himself was "whether we were bound by treaty to defend the Nizam, if Tippoo should attack him while engaged in hostilities with the Mahrattas, either as their ally or independently of them." Strange to say, his opinion was in the negative. The Nizam pleaded that in becoming a party to the treaty of 1790, he had trusted to the good faith of the English Government, not to the treachery of the Mahrattas. But Sir John Shore persuaded himself that the defection of one of the parties from a tripartite alliance, offensive and defensive, and his union with the power against whom the treaty was made, cancelled the obligation of the remaining party. It is, however due to his memory to state that his judgment was evidently influenced, to a considerable extent, by the incompetence of his Commander-in-chief to take charge of a war with Tippoo and the Mahrattas. He resolved,

therefore, to remain neuter, and leave the Nizam to his fate. And thus the high reputation which the British Government had acquired throughout India by the prompt succour of the raja of Travancore when attacked by the armies of Tippoo, was sacrificed by his successor, from motives of expedience and economy, and too obsequious a submission to an Act of Parliament through which Lord Cornwallis had boldly driven his coach, and had, nevertheless, received the thanks of both Houses.

Expedition against the Nizam, 1795.

To assemble a Mahratta army when there was a prospect of plunder had never presented any difficulty. On the present occasion the young Peshwa resolved to accompany the expedition, and summoned all the feudatories into the field; and it proved to be the last time they were mustered under the national standard. Dowlut Rao Sindia brought up a force of 25,000, of whom 10,000 consisted of De Boigne's regular infantry. The Raja of Berar contributed 15,000 horse and foot. Holkar's contingent was only 10,000, but of these 2,000 were disciplined by European officers, and he had, moreover, a following of 10,000 Pindarrees. Govind Rao Guickwar likewise sent a detachment of troops, and all the southern Jaygeerdars furnished their quota. The whole army mustered 130,000 horse and foot, and 150 pieces of cannon. The Nizam, abandoned by his English allies, threw himself into the hands of their European rivals, with whom they were then at war. A French officer of the name of Raymond, who had come out to India with Lally, twenty-five years before, and fully shared his animosity towards the English, had entered the service of the Nizam, and organised two battalions, which did good service in the Mysore war. When the struggle with the Mahrattas appeared inevitable, he was directed to increase his force to the fullest possible extent. The procrastination of the Mahrattas, arising from the dissensions created by the death of Mahdajee Sindia, enabled Raymond to raise this body of troops to 18,000, all of whom were trained and commanded by European officers.

The war with the Mahrattas, while at a distance, was popular with the Hyderabad army. The disorderly soldiers indulged in the wildest gasconade, threatening to plunder and burn Poona; the dancing girls moved through the camp chaunting the triumphs the army was about to achieve, and even the chief minister, forgetting his own dignity, boasted that the Peshwa should be banished to Benares, with a cloth about his loins and a water-pot in his hand, to mutter incantations on the banks of the sacred stream.

Defeat of the Nizam at Kurdla, 11th March, 1795.

The Nizam was the first in the field, and advanced from Beder, where he had established his camp, towards the Mahratta frontier. The Peshwa quitted Poona in January, and the two armies approached each other on the 10th of March. On that evening the Nizam sat in durbar, and received congratulations for the victory of the morrow. The forces joined issue on the 11th, a little in advance of the village of Kurdla, which has given its name to the battle. The Nizam's Patan cavalry drove the centre division of the Mahratta army, commanded by Pureshram Bhao, from the field, and a large portion of his army was seized with a panic and fled. By this time the regular battalions on both sides approached within musket shot of each other, and the Nizam's cavalry were advancing steadily to the support of their infantry, when Rughoojee Bhonslay assailed them with a shower of rockets, and Perron, who commanded Sindia's disciplined troops, poured in a destructive fire from thirty-five pieces of cannon he had judiciously planted on an eminence. The cavalry was put to the route, but Raymond's infantry stood their ground, and had even obtained some advantage over Perron's battalions, when he was obliged, in consequence of repeated and pressing orders, to follow the Nizam, who had retraced his steps, to Kurdla. The Nizam was accompanied on this expedition by his zenana, and the favourite Sultana, terrified by the roar of the artillery, insisted on his retiring beyond the reach of it, and threatened, if he refused, to disgrace him by exposing herself to public gaze. The dotard

yielded to her importunities, and the whole army retreated in wild confusion. The greater portion of the troops fled from the field, after having plundered the baggage of their own army, but the Pindarrees pursued them, and stripped them of everything they possessed. The next morning the Mahrattas advanced over the field, and found it strewed with guns, stores, baggage, and all the equipments of the army. Only a tenth of the Nizam's force remained about Kurdla, in which he had taken refuge, and where, after sustaining the cannonade of the Mahrattas for two days, he solicited a cessation of arms. The Mahrattas demanded territorial cessions of the value of thirty-five lacs of rupees a-year, together with an indemnity of three crores of rupees, one-third to be paid down immediately, as well as the surrender of Musheer-ool-moolk, his chief minister, and the ablest man at his court, on the pretext that amends must be made for some insulting language he was reported to have used in reference to Nana Furnuvese. With these hard conditions the Nizam was constrained to comply, and he affixed his signature to the humiliating treaty on the 13th of March, 1795.

The Nizam increases his French force, 1795.

During these transactions the British ministers at the court of the Nizam and the Peshwa removed from their camps, and remained in the neighbourhood, mere spectators of the event. Neither were the two English battalions in the pay of the Nizam allowed to take any part in the war, notwithstanding his earnest entreaty. He returned to his capital highly incensed at this neutrality, and immediately dismissed the battalions, while Raymond was directed to increase his force with all diligence. He and his officers lost no opportunity of manifesting their hatred of the English; they carried the colours of the French republic, then at war with England, and wore the cap of liberty on their buttons. Raymond made the greatest and most successful exertions to improve the discipline and efficiency of his corps, and the power and resources of the Hyderabad state, which Lord Cornwallis had endeavoured to

secure for the interests of the British nation, were thus transferred to its enemies. The Nizam, following the example of Sindia, determined to assign districts for the support of this foreign force, and Raymond made his selection of Kurpa, because it lay on the confines of the Company's territories, and was comparatively adjacent to the coast, from which he would be enabled to receive recruits, and possibly co-operate with a regiment then expected from France. But even the pacific Shore could not brook the presumption of the Nizam in planting a hostile force in the immediate neighbourhood of the British territories. He peremptorily insisted on their removal, and threatened to enforce the demand by a military demonstration. Just at this juncture an unexpected event—the rebellion of the Nizam's son, Ali Jah—served in some measure to restore a good understanding between him and the government of Calcutta. On the night of the 28th of June that prince abruptly quitted Hyderabad, and proceeded to Beder, where he raised the standard of revolt. The Nizam was thrown into a fever of alarm, and recalled the English battalions in all haste, and offered immediately to remove the French force from the frontier. The battalions were directed to march against the prince with the utmost expedition; but before they could reach Peder, Raymond's corps had extinguished the revolt.

Death of the Peshwa relieves the Nizam, 1795.

The battle of Kurdla completely prostrated the Nizam, and left him at the mercy of the Mahrattas, who would doubtless have returned to complete his humiliation after the division of the spoil, had not the sudden death of the Peshwa given a new direction to the current of events, and restored to him much of his previous consequence. By the success of the recent campaign Nana Furnuvese had gained the summit of his wishes. He had restored the Mahratta supremacy in the Deccan, and gratified the Mahratta chiefs with plunder. Dowlut Rao Sindia manifested the greatest deference to him; the raja of Berar and the great brahmin feudatories were entirely

subservient to him. He was without a rival in the Mahratta commonwealth; but his love of power, and his anxiety to monopolise it, produced an event which brought him to the grave in misery and disgrace. During the minority of the Peshwa, Madhoo Rao, the second, Nana had for twenty years enjoyed, with occasional interruptions, the chief control of Mahratta affairs at the capital. But though the Peshwa was now of age he was still kept by the minister in a state of the most stringent and galling tutelage, and in a fit of impatience threw himself from a terrace of the palace on the 22nd of October, 1795. He died two days after, bequeathing his throne to his cousin Bajee Rao, the son of the luckless Raghoba, and the last of the Peshwas. Bajee Rao was a prince of many accomplishments, mental and bodily, graceful in person, mild in his demeanour, and of the most insinuating address, but distinguished above every prince of the age by his profound dissimulation, and his utter unscrupulousness. As he grew up Nana Furnuvese had watched his movements with great jealousy, and had for some time detained him a close prisoner. The unexpected death of the Peshwa confounded all the plans of Nana, and gave rise to a series of complications unmatched even in Mahratta history, of which, however, we can find room for only a brief outline.

Chimnajee, Peshwa, 1796. Immediately after the catastrophe Nana assembled the Mahratta chiefs, carefully suppressed the dying bequest of the late Peshwa in favour of Bajee Rao, and proposed that his widow should be required to adopt Chimnajee, the younger brother of Bajee Rao, in whose name he himself proposed to continue to administer the government. Bajee Rao, on receiving intimation of this plot, which, if successful, would have deprived him of all his rights, opened a secret correspondence with young Sindia and his minister, Balloba Tantia, and offered them jaygeers of the value of four lacs of rupees a year if they would support his claim to the succession. Nana Furnuvese discovered this negotiation, and resolved to circumvent Sindia by releasing Bajee Rao of

his own accord, and placing him on the vacant throne. That prince was accordingly conducted to Poona, and reconciled to Nana, whom he engaged to maintain as his minister. Meanwhile Balloba, Sindia's chief adviser, who resented this proceeding, resolved to counteract the designs of Nana, and directed the army, then encamped on the banks of the Godavery, to march up to Poona. Nana, who was as remarkable for political talent as for personal cowardice, immediately fled to Poorunder. Balloba, now master of the situation, proposed to Pureshram Bhao, the commander-in-chief, that Bajee Rao should be set aside, and placed in confinement, that the widow of the late Peshwa should adopt Chimnajee, and that Pureshram himself should be the chief minister. He sought advice of Nana in his retreat, and that wily statesman not only gave his approval of the adoption, but proceeded in person to Satara to procure the investiture from the descendant of Sevajee. Bajee Rao, ignorant of these machinations, repaired to Sindia's camp, where he was detained as a prisoner, while Chimnajee, greatly against his own will, was installed as Peshwa on the 26th of May, 1796.

Bajee Rao raised to the throne, 4th December, 1796.

Pureshram Bhao, now at the head of the government, immediately released the minister of the Nizam, who had been held as a hostage for fourteen months since the battle of Kurdla. The great object of all the parties in power at Poona at this time was to obtain possession of the person of Nana, who was obliged to fly for security to the fortress of Mhar. His fortunes now seemed to be at the lowest ebb, but they were restored by his extraordinary tact. "The vigour of his judgment," as the historian of the Mahrattas observes, "the fertility of his resources, the extent of his influence, and the combination of instruments he called into action, surprised all India." He renewed his communications with Bajee Rao. He entered into an engagement with the Nizam, which is generally known as the treaty of Mhar, and was dated the 8th of October, 1796, in which it was provided

that a body of 15,000 Hyderabad troops and a train of artillery should be sent to assist in establishing Bajee Rao as Peshwa, and Nana as minister, and that, in return for this assistance, the territory the Nizam had been constrained to cede to the Mahrattas should be restored, and the balance of the indemnity remitted. Balloba, the inveterate foe of Nana, having received some intimation of these schemes, determined to frustrate them by sending Bajee Rao as a prisoner into Hindostan. He was sent under the charge of Sirjee Rao Ghatkay, and on the route succeeded in corrupting him, by promising his master, Sindia, a donative of two crores if he obtained his liberty and his crown; he was liberated accordingly. The schemes of Nana were now matured. He had secured the co-operation of Roghoojee Bhonslay, and Holkar. He had gained over Sindia by the promise of Pureshram's jaygeers, worth ten lacs of rupees a year, and on the 27th of October, 1796, that chief commenced the revolution by seizing his own minister Balloba. Pureshram took to flight; Nana marched in triumph to Poona, and on the 4th of December placed Bajee Rao on the throne of his ancestors, and cancelled the adoption of Chimnajee.

Nana seized and confined, December, 1797.

Bajee Rao, whose nature was to trust no one and to deceive all, was no sooner in possession of power than he began to plot the destruction of the two men who had been the chief instruments of his elevation. The agency of Sindia was employed against Nana, who was induced by the representations of the infamous Sirjee Rao to pay his master a visit of ceremony, when he was seized and confined in the fort of Ahmednugur. His escort, consisting of a thousand persons, was stripped, maimed, killed, or dispersed. Troops were sent to pillage his adherents, and the capital presented a scene of confusion and bloodshed. Having thus disposed, as he thought, of Nana, Bajee Rao began to devise means of ridding himself of Sindia. who had recently espoused the beautiful daughter of Sirjee Rao Ghatkay. The wedding was celebrated with extra-

ordinary display and expense. The monthly cost of his army at Poona, moreover, did not fall short of twenty lacs of rupees. He began to be straitened for money, and was constrained to press Bajee Rao for the two crores which had been agreed on as the price of his release and elevation. Bajee Rao pleaded the emptiness of his treasury, but advised him to constitute Ghatkay his chief minister, and instruct him to levy this sum from the wealthy inhabitants of Poona. The advice was taken; the ruffian was let loose on the capital, and, as long as it exists, his name will be remembered with horror and execration. He proceeded in the first instance to the Peshwa's palace, where he seized the ex-ministers of the party of Nana, and scourged them until they gave up their property. The rich bankers and merchants, and all who were suspected of the possession of wealth, were tortured till it was surrendered. For many days the city of Poona was given up to plunder and violence. Amrit Rao, the illegitimate son of Raghoba, who had been placed in the office of minister on the imprisonment of Nana, not knowing that the infamous Ghatkay had been set on these atrocious proceedings by the advice of his own brother, Bajee Rao, attributed them to the malevolence of Sindia, and proposed to assassinate him. Bajee Rao readily entered into a project so entirely in accordance with his own wishes, and one Abba Kally was selected to despatch him, at a public interview, in the Peshwa's palace. Sindia was summoned to the audience chamber, and Bajee Rao upbraided him with the arrogance and cruelty which he and his servants exhibited, and declared that he would no longer endure the contempt shown to his authority, ordering him at the same time petemptorily to depart from the capital. Sindia replied, with the greatest modesty, that he was anxious to obey, but could not remove his camp for want of funds, and solicited payment of the large sum which had been expended in seating Bajee Rao on the throne. At this moment Amrit Rao inquired whether he should give the signal to the executioner, but Bajee Rao's courage failed him, and

Sindia was allowed to depart in peace. This was the first occasion on which the Peshwa manifested that irresolution of purpose which marked his character through life, and rendered him an object of general contempt. It was in the midst of this scene of intrigue and confusion that Lord Wellesley assumed the office of Governor-General, and speedily convinced the native princes of India that the energy of Hastings and Cornwallis was restored to the British Government.

Amalgamation of the army, 1794.

One of the two points on which Lord Cornwallis had received specific instructions before he embarked for India, had reference to the amalgamation of the King's and the Company's army. Mr. Dundas considered that India could be retained only by a large European force; and as the number of European soldiers in India, in 1788, was only 12,000, to about 58,000 native sepoys, he deemed it necessary, in order to create a feeling of perfect security, to augment it to about 17,000, so as to establish the proportion of one to three. He considered it important that the whole of this force should be under the Crown, and "act in concert with the general strength of the empire." Lord Cornwallis, during his residence in India, collected a mass of information on the subject, which he embodied in an elaborate minute on his return to England. He proposed that the whole army, European and native, should be transferred to the Crown; but he considered it indispensable that the European officers of the native army should remain an essentially distinct body; that they should go out to India early in life, and devote themselves entirely to the Indian service, in which a perfect knowledge of the language, and attention to the customs and religious prejudices of the sepoys, was absolutely necessary. This plan of amalgamation, which appears to have been drawn up in November, 1794, was rejected by the Court of Directors, who were not disposed to transfer their entire military establishment to the Crown; and it did not receive the full concurrence of the Board of Control.

Mutiny of the Bengal officers, 1795-96.

Before this plan was ready for consideration, the officers of the Bengal army were in a state of open mutiny. Lord Cornwallis had been employed during his administration in abolishing sinecure offices, and lessening the sources of illegitimate gain, both in the civil and military branches of the service. The civilians had been compensated for these reductions by increased salaries, but it was impossible to adopt the same rule with regard to a body of officers counted by thousands. The command of a regiment was still worth 80,000 rupees a year, but the general disproportion in the remuneration of the two services, was a source of constant envy and discontent to the military branch. This feeling was inflamed by the superior advantages of rank enjoyed by the King's officers. Sir John Shore, on assuming the government, found that he had to deal, not with the discontent, but with the actual insubordination of the Bengal army, and, in a country in which he felt that "the civil authority was at the mercy of the military." This spirit of mutiny continued to increase throughout the year 1794; but the officers refrained from any overt act of rebellion, while they waited to ascertain how far the new regulations which Mr. Dundas was drawing up in lieu of Lord Cornwallis's amalgamation scheme, proved agreeable to their wishes. The regulations, however, were delayed so long, that the patience of the officers was exhausted, and on Christmas-day, 1795, Sir John Shore convened the Council, and laid before them the alarming intelligence he had just received. Delegates had been elected from each regiment to form an executive board, and the whole army was bound by the most solemn obligations to protect their persons, and make good their losses by a general subscription. This board was authorized to treat with government on these terms:—that the Company's regiments should not be reduced; that the King's troops should be limited by law to a small number; that promotion should invariably go by seniority; and that all allowances which had at any time been granted to the army, including double batta,

should be restored. If these conditions were not accepted, they were prepared to seize the Governor-General and the Commander-in-chief, and take possession of the government.

Conciliatory measures of Government, 1795.

The Council was thunderstruck at this state of affairs. It was a crisis of the same magnitude as that which Clive had quelled thirty years before by his undaunted bearing; but there was no Clive at Calcutta. The Governor-General instantly dispatched orders for troops to the Cape and Madras, and directed the Admiral to bring up his whole squadron to Calcutta without delay; he likewise accepted an offer from De Boigne, of the services of a corps of Sindia's cavalry, commanded by European officers. The Commander-in-chief, Sir Robert Abercromby, proceeded to Cawnpore. Though he was not the man for the emergency, his official character and his courteous manner effected some good; but it was the firmness of the artillery in Calcutta, and the manly resistance of several officers at Cawnpore, that stemmed the tide of mutiny for the time. The long-expected regulations arrived at length, in May, 1796, and disgusted all parties. Sir John Shore described them as a mass of confusion, calculated neither to gratify the officers, nor to improve the discipline of the army. The spirit of revolt blazed forth afresh. Remonstrances poured in upon the bewildered government from every quarter, and on the 30th of June, Sir John Shore wrote to his superiors at home stating, that the pressure on him had been so great, as to oblige him to give way, partly, and to modify the regulations. In a minute which he promulgated in India, he expressed a hope that the general code which he had drawn up would be acceptable to the officers. The regulations were so modified, that there was little of them left. The concessions went even beyond the expectations of the army. Arrears of batta to the extent of seven lacs of rupees, were granted unasked; the arrears of brevet rank were gratuitously bestowed, and such an addition made to the allowances of the officers of all grades, as to entail a permanent

addition of seven lacs of annual expenditure. The weakness of government had, in fact, surrendered everything up to a factious army. In a letter to Lord Cornwallis, immediately after this transaction, Sir John Shore admitted that he was little qualified by habit or experience, to contend with a discontented army, and the responsibility of these wretched measures, must, therefore, rest chiefly with the Commander-in-chief.

Alarm of the Ministry in England, 1796.

The intelligence of these concessions, which reached England in December, 1796, filled the Ministry with alarm, and they determined immediately to supersede Sir John Shore. Lord Cornwallis was importuned to proceed forthwith to India, and he was assured by Mr. Dundas, that if he could bring himself to forego his comforts at home for only a twelvemonth, and spend three months at Calcutta, and three months at Madras, he would do the greatest service to his country that ever any man had it in his power to do. So urgent did the necessity of the case appear, that Mr. Dundas offered his own services, in case of Lord Cornwallis's refusal, and stated his readiness to go out to Bengal as Governor-General; but Mr. Pitt refused to part with his colleague, and Lord Cornwallis determined "to sacrifice all personal consideration of comfort and happiness, to the service of the public." He was sworn in as Governor-General on the 1st of February, 1797, and the appointment was immediately announced to all the Presidences in India. On the first intellience of this spirit of insubordination, Mr. Dundas declared himself averse to all concessions, and resolved to put it down with a high hand. But he met with serious obstructions in various quarters, and was obliged, at length, to succumb to circumstances. There was a regularly organised committee of Bengal officers then sitting in London, as the representatives of the mutineers in India, and the Court of Directors and Mr. Dundas, strange to say, entered into negotiations with them, and passed, what Lord Cornwallis designated, a "milk-and-water order," with which they desired him to

embark for India and assume the government, which he refused to do. They proceeded further to make concession after concession to the London committee, and even promoted one of the ringleaders to a confidential post at the India House. Lord Cornwallis therefore resigned the office of Governor-General in disgust, on the 2nd of August.

Affairs of Oude; death of the Vizier, 1797.

The most memorable event of Sir John Shore's administration was the change which he made in the Oude succession. Hyder Beg Khan, the chief minister, was a native statesman of vast energy and singular ability, and sustained the sinking fortunes of the state with great vigour. His death in 1795, and the appointment of a successor totally devoid of principle, put an end to all hope of reform in the government. By nature, the Vizier was a man of good disposition, but spoiled by the enjoyment of absolute power, and by the fools, knaves, and sycophants, who composed his court. During the seventeen years of his reign he had lived only for one object—the gratification of his personal appetites. Some English adventurer who visited his court introduced to his notice the diversion of a race by old women in sacks. The Vizier was enchanted with this new pleasure, and exclaimed, that though he had expended a crore of rupees in procuring amusement, he had never found anything so much to his taste. The government was completely effete, and, but for the protection of the English battalions, the country would long since have been absorbed by Sindia. Sir John Shore, before he resigned the government, paid a visit to the Nabob at Lucknow, and prevailed on him to appoint Tufuzzil Hussein, his minister. He had been his master's representative in Calcutta, and had obtained the entire confidence of Sir John Shore by the simplicity of his character, his unblemished integrity, and his great abilities. In his various interviews with the Vizier, Sir John endeavoured to inculcate on him the necessity of endeavouring to promote the prosperity of the country and the happiness of his people; but he found that such questions had never come within the

scope of his imagination. Whatever favourable impression the Governor-General might produce in the morning, was completely effaced in the evening, when the Vizier was again closeted with his buffoons and parasites, or stupified with opium. After a residence of six weeks at Lucknow, Sir John returned to Calcutta, and the Nabob, worn out with excesses, died in the course of the year.

Vizier Ali, Nabob, 1797.

The succession of his reputed son, Vizier Ali, was ratified by Sir John Shore on the ground that the old Nabob had acknowledged his title, that the Nabob's mother had given it her sanction, and that it was generally acquiesced in by the people. But he subsequently received information of his spurious birth and violent character, and, from that feeling of conscientiousness which had always guided his conduct, proceeded to Lucknow to investigate the case. Before he reached it, he was met by the minister, Tufuzzil Hussein, who assured him that Vizier Ali was not even the illegitimate son of the late Vizier, but the offspring of a man of the lowest caste; that his elevation had created astonishment and disgust, and that the succession belonged of right to Sadut Ali, the brother of the late prince. The province of Oude was considered by the people of Hindostan to stand in a position altogether different from that of any other principality in India. In 1764 it had been conquered by the British arms, and forfeited by the laws of eastern warfare. It was afterwards voluntarily restored to the family of the Vizier by Lord Clive, and was ever after considered a dependency of the British Government, and the appointment of its Nabobs was held to rest on the will of the Governor-General. Sir John felt the full responsibility of his situation, and was most anxious to do justice. He consulted all those who were likely to give impartial testimony, and he found the statement of the minister regarding the ignoble birth of Vizier Ali fully confirmed. He learned, likewise, that since his elevation he had exhibited great violence and unsteadiness of character, and the most hostile designs towards the English

Government. Sir John, therefore, came to the conclusion that it would be injurious to the country, and disgraceful to the British name to support him, and that, as all the children of the late Nabob were illegitimate, the throne ought to descend to his brother.

Arrangement with Saadut Ali, 1798.

That prince was at the time residing at Benares, and Sir John Shore deputed Mr. Cherry, the Resident, to announce the intentions of the British Government to him. He was likewise presented with the draft of a treaty, which, with some subsequent modifications, embraced the following provisions: that the defence of the Oude dominions should remain exclusively with the British Government; that the number of British troops stationed in Oude should consist of 10,000; and that the annual payment for them should be seventy-six lacs of rupees, which was to vary according to the increase or diminution of the force; that the fortress of Allahabad, the key of the province which the English were to defend, should be made over to them; that the Nabob should not maintain more than 35,000 troops, and should enter into no negotiation with any foreign power, without the consent of the British Government. The treaty made such arrangements as a superior would dictate to a subordinate, and fully bore out the impression that Oude was subject to the Company. During this negotiation, Sir John was encamped in the immediate neighbourhood of Lucknow, and exposed to no little peril from Vizier Ali, who was surrounded by bands of desperate men, who openly talked of his assassination. The city was then supposed to contain 800,000 inhabitants; the streets were narrow lanes and intricate passages, capable of being strongly defended, and every house was filled with armed men. Ibrahim Beg, a bold and reckless adventurer, commanded the troops of Vizier Ali, and had 300 pieces of ordnance, of which 30 were so posted that they could not be seized without great danger. Sir John Shore was strongly advised by the minister and the nobles to anticipate the designs of Vizier Ali, and seize

him in the city, but he felt that the firing of a single shot might lead to the massacre of thousands. In the midst of these dangers, his escape from which was pronounced by his successor in the government to be miraculous, he maintained the utmost calmness and composure, and his conduct throughout this transaction exhibited a pattern of courage and resolution.

Sadut Ali installed, 1798.

Sadut Ali at length reached Cawnpore, and was escorted from thence to Lucknow, a distance of 50 miles, by a large British force, and all the embarrassments of Sir John Shore at once terminated. Vizier Ali was deserted by his servants and followers as Sadut Ali approached the city, in which he was proclaimed Nabob Vizier on the 21st of January, 1798. Vizier Ali was removed to Benares, where he resided some time on his pension of a lac and a half of rupees a year, cherishing the most inveterate feelings towards the English Government. The revolution was hailed by Europeans and natives as an act of justice, and the general feeling in Oude was that "the right had come to the rightful." The Court of Directors recorded that "in circumstances of great delicacy and embarrassment, Sir John Shore had conducted himself with great temper, abililty, and firmness." Dr. Lawrence, a friend of Mr. Burke's and one of the managers of the impeachment of Hastings, threatened Sir John with an indictment for his proceedings in Oude, but it was never carried into execution; and the impartial voice of posterity has paid homage to the honesty, the wisdom, and the vigour manifested by him on this occasion. Immediately after Saadut Ali had been placed on the throne, Sir John Shore, who had been created Lord Teignmouth, returned to Calcutta, and embarked for England on the 25th of March, 1798.

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GLOSSARY.

Banian.—A Hindoo merchant; manager of a European's concerns.
Batta.—An allowance to troops in the field.
Begum.—The lady of a noble or prince.
Brinjarees.—The hereditary and professional carriers of India.
Cazee.—A Mahomedan judge and notary.
Chout.—The fourth of revenues exacted by the Mahrattas.
Cowrie.—The lowest coin in India; a shell.
Crore.—Ten millions.
Daroga.—Superintendent of Police.
Dewan.—The principal minister of finance; a head manager
Dewanny.—The management of the revenue.
Dewanny Court.—Court of civil justice.
Dooab.—The country lying between any two rivers.
Durbar.—A levee; a cabinet council.
Firman.—An imperial grant, order, or charter.
Foujdar.—A commander of military police; a criminal judge.
Ghaut.—Stairs leading to a river; a mountain pass.
Gold mohur.—A gold coin worth 32*s*.
Harem.—The seraglio.
Jaygeer.—An estate, not hereditary, held on military service.
Jaygeerdar.—The holder of a jaygeer.
Jezzia.—The poll-tax imposed on infidels by Mahomedans.
Kayasts.—The writer caste, ranking next to the Brahmins.
Kshetriya.—The second, or military caste.
Lac.—One hundred thousand.
Maun.—An Indian weight, about 82 lbs.
Moonsiff.—A civil judge of the lowest grade.
Maharanee.—Queen, princess.
Omra.—A noble.
Pagoda.—A Madras coin, value 8*s*.
Pariar.—An outcast.
Peshcush.—Tribute.
Pottah.—A lease.
Rupee.—Two shillings.
Ryot.—An agricultural tenant.
Seer.—A variable weight—generally 2lbs.
Sepoy.—A native soldier.
Shastrus.—The sacred writings of the Hindoos.
Sirdar.—A chief.
Sir-desh-mookhee.—The tenth of the produce exacted by the Mahrattas.
Soobah.—A province.
Soobadar.—The governor of a Soobah.
Soodra.—A man of the fourth or lowest caste.
Sudder Cheif. Sudder Dewanny.—The supreme civil court.
Sunnud.—A patent for office.
Vakeel.—An envoy or representative; an attorney.
Vizier.—Prime minister.
Zemindar.—A landholder.
Zemindary.—A landed estate.
Zenana.—The women's apartments.

IMPERIAL MAHOMEDAN DYNASTIES.

House of Ghuzni.

	Date
Mahmood	997
Musaood	1030
Modood	1040
Abul Hussein	1049
Abul Rashed	1051
Forokzad	1052
Ibrahim	1058
Musaood II.	1089
Arslan	1114
Byram	1118
Khusro, in India alone	1152
Khusro Malik	1160

House of Ghore.

	Date
Alla-ood-deen	1152
Seif-ood deen	1156
Gheias-ood-deen, and his brother Mahomed	1157
Mahomed, alone	1203
Mahmood	1206

Slave Kings.

	Date
Kootub-ood-deen	1206
Aram	1210
Altumsh	1211
Rokun-ood-deen	1236
Sultana Rezia	1236
Mois-ood-deen	1239
Alla-ood-deen Musaood	1241
Nazir ood-deen Mahomed	1246
Bulbun	1266
Kei Kobad	1286

House of Ghiljie.

	Date
Jelal-ood-deen	1288
Alla-ood-deen	1295
Mobarik	1316

House of Toghluk.

	Date
Gheias-ood-deen Toghluk	[illegible]21
Mahomed Toghluk	[illegible]

House of Toghluk—*contd.*

	Date
Feroze Toghluk	1351
Gheias-ood deen Toghluk	[illegible]389
Abubeker Toghluk	[illegible]
Nazir-ood-deen Toghluk	1390
Mahmood Toghluk	1394

Government of the Syuds.

	Date
Syud Khizir Khan	1414
Syud Mobarik	1421
Syud Mahomed	1435
Syud Alla-ood-deen	[illegible]

House of Lodi.

	Date
Beloli Lodi	[illegible]
Secunder Lodi	[illegible]488
Ibrahim Lodi	1516

The Mogul Dynasty.

	Date
Baber	[illegible]526
Humayoon	[illegible]

The Soor Dynasty.

	Date
Shere Shah	1540
Selim Shah	[illegible]545
Mahomed Shah Adili	[illegible]53

The Mogul Dynasty Restored

	Date
Humayoon restored	1555
Akbar	1556
Jehangeer	[illegible]605
Shah Jehan	[illegible]
Aurungzebe	[illegible]
Bahadoor Shah	1707
Jehander Shah	[illegible]
Furokshere	1713
[illegible]	[illegible]9
[illegible]	[illegible]8
[illegible]	1754
[illegible]	[illegible]759